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A MAJOR POLEMIC ON THE EDUCATIONAL FRONT--CRITICIZING THE 'TWO EVALUATIONS'
CONCOCTED BY THE 'GANG OF FOUR'

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 5 Dec 77 pp 3-13

[Article by the mass criticism group of the Ministry of Education]

[Text] Education is an important front on which our party has long contended with the "gang of four." How to evaluate the situation on the education front and the situation with respect to intellectuals in the 17 years before the beginning of the Cultural Revolution is a major issue affecting the whole situation. The party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and the broad revolutionary masses believed that on the educational front during those 17 years, as on all other fronts, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line had occupied a leading position from beginning to end and that the role played by intellectuals on the educational front regarding the socialist cause and their political and ideological progress had been fully confirmed. Nevertheless, the "gang of four" held an opposite view. They raved that over those 17 years, Chairman Mao's proletarian line on education "had not been fully implemented," that on the educational front "the bourgeoisie had exercised dictatorship over the proletariat" and that it had amounted to a "dictatorship of the sinister line" on the educational front. They also raved that the "world outlook" of the majority of teachers and students trained over those 17 years "had been chiefly bourgeois" and that those teachers and students had been "bourgeois intellectuals" and "the stinking ninth category." This was the "gang of four's" notorious so-called "two evaluations."

The "two evaluations" concocted by the "gang of four" surfaced in 1971 and were immediately and consistently boycotted and resolutely opposed by numerous cadres and masses. The "gang of four" used the propaganda and cultural and educational power they usurped to forcefully push the sinister trash of the "two evaluations" and caused serious, disastrous results. They tampered with and twisted beyond recognition Chairman Mao's brilliant ideas on revolution in education and greatly dampened the revolutionary enthusiasm of numerous cadres and teachers. For a long time, they spiritually shackled the cadres and teachers, sabotaged the development of education, seriously lowered the quality of education, and obstructed the "four modernizations." Their crimes caused widespread and strong dissatisfaction among the people throughout the country. In 1972, when Premier Chou, following Chairman Mao's directive, started to resolve the messy situation on the educational front caused by the sabotage of the "gang of four," they directed the spearhead of attack against Premier Chou, accusing him of supporting "restoration" and "resurgence."

When Vice Chairman Teng Hsiao-ping, following Chairman Mao's directive, proposed in 1975 that education be readjusted, the "gang of four" once again launched rampant attacks clamoring that he "opposed the two evaluations" and "tampered with the orientation of revolution in education." Their insidious motive was to use the education question as a major vehicle for antiparty activities in order to overthrow a large number of leading comrades both at the central and local levels, usurp the supreme power of the party and state, and restore capitalism. The issue is also serious since even today when the "gang of four" have been smashed, they still fetter the revolutionary enthusiasm of education workers and intellectuals and obstruct the rapid training of more talented students for realizing the four modernizations, which is the goal of the revolution in education. There is no construction without destruction, no flowing without damming and no motion without rest. In order to end turmoil and restore order on the educational front, we must hold Chairman Mao's great banner aloft, thoroughly overthrow the "gang of four's" "two evaluations," clarify right and wrong in line, and recount history truthfully.

"How Did the 'Two Evaluations' Emerge?"

The "gang of four" strongly emphasized the "two evaluations" for quite a long time. They clamored: Whoever opposes the "two evaluations" opposes the Cultural Revolution and Mao Tsetung Thought.

However, what was the actual situation? The actual situation was: The "gang of four's" "two evaluations" were totally contrary to the evaluation of the situation on the educational front and the situation of intellectuals before the Cultural Revolution made by Chairman Mao in 1971. For a long time, the "gang of four" tightly suppressed and vigorously opposed Chairman Mao's directives until their downfall.. Now is the time to expose their plot and let the world know the true facts!

The "gang of four's" concoction of the "two evaluations" was premeditated. The so-called theory of the "dictatorship of the sinister line" on the educational and other fronts during the 17-year period before the Cultural Revolution originated from the theory of the "dictatorship of the sinister line" on the literary and art front. In February 1966, renegade Chiang Ching and bourgeois careerist and conspirator Lin Piao worked hand in glove and slandered the literary and art front since the founding of the country by saying an "antiparty and antisocialist sinister line exercised dictatorship over us." In April 1967, Chiang Ching again raved about the situation on the educational front: Education in the past 17 years "has largely followed their policy (referring to that of the bourgeoisie and the landlord class) and the Soviet revisionist education principle." "Therefore, the number of newly-created intellectuals who are completely alienated from the masses, proletarian politics and production is even greater than before." The root of the "two evaluations" was here. Later, they not only peddled the theory of the "dictatorship of the sinister line" everywhere but also concocted the theory of "blanks" from the "Internationale" to model theatrical works in literature and art. They also slandered this front as "revisionist to the core" and said it must be "thoroughly destroyed." They totally negated the 17 years (in accordance with the so-called theory of 'blanks,' the period covered more than 90 years and was even longer than our party's entire history) in order to totally negate our socialist revolution and construction led by Chairman Mao and our new democratic revolution led by Chairman Mao and overthrow everything to create a theoretical foundation for their counterrevolutionary restoration.

In March 1971, the Kuomintang secret agent Chang Chun-chiao gave a "talk" on the education question in Shanghai. At that time, a follower of the "gang of four" in Shanghai said: "I am afraid there is a question at issue, that is, the question of how to evaluate the results on the educational front from the initial period after liberation up to the eve of the Cultural Revolution.

"There have been disputes in Shanghai. Some people think it was the Red line during that period. They think it was under the guidance of Chairman Mao's line. They want to reverse the verdicts." Chang Chun-chiao said: "It is necessary to clarify this question for school cadres. Political rule precisely means dictatorship over us. How can there still be disputes?" When talking about the question of intellectuals, Chang Chun-chiao said: "It is necessary to replace a large number of teachers now. I am very angry with these people, yet we just cannot execute them all!" Thus, the keynote of the "two evaluations" was set.

From mid-April to the end of July 1971, having been concocted in secret by the "gang of four," drafted at the "command" of the sinister henchman Chih Chun, and revised and finalized by Chang Chun-chiao and Yao Wen-yuan, the "two evaluations" were finally dished out. That was the critical moment in which our party's struggle against the Lin Piao antiparty clique was intensifying. With the exposure of Chen Po-ta's counterrevolutionary nature, the "gang of four," who were but jackals in the same lair as the Lin Piao antiparty clique, panicked. The gang did their utmost to counter the party Central Committee's instructions on criticism of Chen Po-ta, the rectification campaign, and the implementation of party policies on the education front and they followed their own policy. The "gang of four's" sworn followers and trusted men in Shanghai and Liaoning struck first in the course of concocting the "two evaluations." Professing to "take the actual conditions into account," they collected, distorted, and exaggerated various situations to create commotion and vilified schools under the party leadership as places "where renegades, enemy agents, and capitalist roaders hold power" and "where bourgeois intellectual aristocrats are brought up." They slandered worker-peasant students as "rustics the first year, worshipers of foreign things the second year, and not able to recognize their parents the third year."

The revolutionary teacher Lenin said: "ALL THINGS HAVE INDIVIDUAL ASPECTS. IF FACTS AND THEIR INTERRELATIONSHIP ARE NOT COMPLETELY UNDERSTOOD THEY WILL BE USED ON ONLY A PIECEMEAL BASIS AND AT RANDOM. SUCH FACTS WILL ACTUALLY BE MERELY TOYS OR EVEN WORSE THAN TOYS." ("Statistics and Sociology," "Lenin's Collected Works," Vol 23, p 279) In line with being "even worse than a toy," the "gang of four" denigrated the education front under our party's leadership during the 17-year period prior to the Great Cultural Revolution and labeled it a "hodgepodge" consisting of Chang Chih-tung, Hu Shih, Dewey, and revisionism. While discussing the extremely absurd "evaluations," they trampled upon the party's democratic centralist principle, disrupted the party's fine traditions of adhering to the mass line and seeking truth from facts, and practiced a counterrevolutionary and highly oppressive policy. The "gang of four's" sinister henchman Chih Chun and his ilk rebuked the numerous comrades who dared to follow principles and use Mao Tsetung Thought to analyze problems and explain situations and who opposed the "two evaluations." Chih Chun flatly disapproved of the publication of the "briefing" on the discussion of the opinions of those who dissented from the "two evaluations" and prevented those opinions from reaching Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee.

We are herewith authorized to solemnly declare to the whole party and the people of the whole country: It was in the summer of 1971 when the "gang of four" smeared the achievements made during the 17-year period. Our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao refuted their absurdities one by one. The spirit embodied in Chairman Mao's instructions is:

1. Do not overdo the evaluation of the 17-year period.

A small number of people have followed the erroneous line under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

2. Most intellectuals still support the socialist system.

Only a small number of people follow the feudalist, bourgeois, and revisionist line. "The first year they are all rustics, the second year they are trained in the bourgeois lifestyle, and the third year they turn their backs on their parents." Actually these people admit errors, but in order to save face they will not do so in public. They only cherish bourgeois ideology, but they make admissions when it is eliminated.

3. On the whole, the 60 articles on higher education are correct. Erroneous things should be criticized. Let's criticize things that are wrong.

Chairman Mao continued: Teachers deserve respect. How can they say something correct if they are criticized when they say something that is incorrect? It doesn't matter if they say something wrong. How can we say the right thing without study? That is impossible.

Chairman Mao's instructions are good: They are Chairman Mao's basic evaluation of the situation on the education front and his evaluation of intellectuals. It is all too clear that Chairman Mao's evaluation and the "gang of four's evaluations" are completely opposite. This reflects the acute struggle between the two classes and the two lines. To hold Chairman Mao's banner high, we must vigorously propagate Chairman Mao's evaluation and thoroughly smash the "gang of four's counterrevolutionary evaluations."

The "gang of four" withheld the important instructions Chairman Mao made upon reviewing the actual conditions of the revolution in education during the 17-year period prior to the Great Cultural Revolution and the 5-year period after the Great Cultural Revolution. The gang never dared relay these instructions, for it would harm their own cause. They concocted the so-called "two evaluations," which were opposed to Chairman Mao's instructions, in order to fight to the end against Chairman Mao and his revolutionary line.

During the difficult time in which the "gang of four's" antiparty arrogance was soaring, our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou, acting on Chairman Mao's consistent teachings, resolutely pointed out on 6 July 1971: "Chairman Mao's Red line illuminates the education front," "the majority of intellectuals accept the Communist Party's guidance and serve socialism," "make an analysis of teachers and students who have been brought up after liberation and take a dialectical view of all questions," and "it is necessary to analyze or else we will all be disappointed." Premier Chou's instructions were also frenziedly opposed by the "gang of four."

Let's see how Chang Chun-chiao finalized the "two evaluations."

In order to smear the 17-year period the manuscript read: "Liu Shao-chi and his ilk recruited a handful of renegades, enemy agents, and capitalist roaders to hold power in education departments." In negating the Great Cultural Revolution, Chang Chun-chiao added: The proletariat's leadership over education departments "is basically not settled yet."

Chang Chun-chiao said the many teachers and students brought up during the 17-year period "are basically bourgeois in their world outlook" and that schools are "places for training bourgeois intellectuals."

Though aware of Chairman Mao's disapproval of the saying that "they do not recognize their parents the third year," Chang Chun-chiao still slandered children of workers and peasants for "being corroded by the bourgeoisie after entering college," for "becoming incompatible with workers, peasants, and soldiers" and for "being rustic the first year, worshipping foreign things the second year, and not recognizing their parents the third year."

Though knowing the 60 articles concerning higher education were praised by Chairman Mao and were confirmed by him in 1971 as being generally correct, Chang Chun-chiao viciously attacked these articles as "a systematic, revisionist line in education" and as "being frenzied."

This was how the "gang of four" frenziedly opposed the great leader Chairman Mao.

After the "two evaluations" were publicized, the "gang of four's" actions became more perverted and they raised their voices higher each time they mounted a fresh attack on the party. In 1974, Chih Chun and that sworn follower of the "gang of four" in Liaoning echoed each other: College students who graduated during the 17-year period are "disrupting the socialist economic base" and "the 17-year period must be opposed." One follower of the "gang of four" in Shanghai blatantly clamored: In order to criticize revisionism, "we must shoot bullets through teachers' bodies." In 1976, Chih Chun concocted the absurdities that "schools have only one course, that is, to struggle against 'capitalist roaders' and schools are for training vanguards to struggle against 'capitalist roaders.'" Just before the "gang of four's" downfall, Chang Chun-chiao babbled the nonsense that "grasping the basic issues in education means grasping the national issue." This thoroughly exposed their true motive of usurping party and state power under the pretext of handling education issues. History is relentless, however, and the "gang of four's" evil acts have not paved the way for their enthronement. The acts have sounded the gang's death knell instead.

Did the Red Line or the "Dictatorship of the Sinister Line" Occupy the Leading Position During Those 17 Years?

Of the "two evaluations" conspiratorially concocted by the "gang of four," the first one is fundamental, i.e., the allegation that before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution "the bourgeoisie had exercised dictatorship over the proletariat" on the educational front; "a dictatorship of the sinister line" had existed by which "Liu Shao-chi and a handful of renegades, special agents and capitalist roaders whom he had recruited had seized the leadership of the educational departments"; and "generally speaking, Chairman Mao's proletarian line on education had not been implemented."

This is sheer nonsense totally contradicting the objective facts.

Was leadership over the educational front entirely in the hands of renegades, special agents and capitalist roaders before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution? Certainly not. Long ago Chairman Mao gave this specific instruction regarding cadres of our party and state: "THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF OUR CADRES ARE GOOD AND ONLY A TINY MINORITY ARE NOT." Chairman Mao's instruction, issued in 1971, further shows that this evaluation was equally applicable to the educational front. Leading cadres at all levels on the educational front primarily consisted of two kinds of people: The first group included those who were transferred from various fronts by our party, under the loving care of Chairman Mao and Premier Chou, to strengthen leadership over educational work--they were good cadres who had been tested in protracted revolutionary war and class struggle; the second and much larger group included worker-peasant and revolutionary intellectual cadres who matured under the party's training after liberation--

tested in successive political movements, and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in particular. The overwhelming majority of these comrades proved to be good or fairly good and were loyal to the party and Chairman Mao's proletarian line on education. Only a few bad persons sneaked in and, although some comrades followed an erroneous line, most of them enhanced their political consciousness and corrected their mistakes through tempering and training in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Therefore, in the 11th two-line struggle, the acuteness and complexity of which had rarely been seen in our party's history, revolutionary cadres on the educational front resolutely opposed and resisted the "gang of four," believing no fallacies and fearing no pressures. The "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary fallacy which reversed the relations between the enemy and ourselves regarding cadres on the educational front was similar to the counter-revolutionary political program they dished up later: "Veteran cadres are democrats and democrats are capitalist roaders,"

Wasn't Chairman Mao's proletarian line on education basically implemented during those 17 years on the educational front? This again is unfounded nonsense. Despite the interference and sabotage of the counterrevolutionary revisionist line pushed by Liu Shao-chi, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in the 28 years since our country's founding, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line occupied a leading position on all fronts at all times. The educational front was no exception.

Let's review past history.

During the period from the founding of the People's Republic of China to 1952, we continued and completed the task of the democratic revolution on the educational front; seized leadership over education from the imperialists and Kuomintang reactionaries; CAUTIOUSLY AND GRADUALLY REFORMED OLD SCHOOLS, EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND SOCIAL-CULTURAL ESTABLISHMENTS; AND SUCCEEDED IN MAKING PATRIOTIC INTELLECTUALS SERVE THE PEOPLE. Many teachers and students enthusiastically took part in the land reform movement, the movement against the three evils and the five evils and the movement to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea. Highly-spirited, many of them fought on the battlefield of the movement to resist U.S. aggression, aid Korea, protect our homes and defend our motherland. The educational front was full of vitality. In 1951 Chairman Mao explicitly pointed out: "OUR REHABILITATION AND DEVELOPMENT WORK IN CULTURE AND EDUCATION HAS ALSO TAKEN A BIG STRIDE FORWARD." In his New Year's Day message in 1952, Chairman Mao warmly greeted the "VICTORY ON THE CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL FRONT."

From 1953 to 1957 the masses of education workers, under the guidance of the party's general line for the transitional period, actively took part in the movements--initiated and led by Chairman Mao--to criticize the idealist ideology of the Hu Shih school and the bourgeois ideology contained in certain studies of the "Dream of the Red Chamber," to struggle against the Hu Feng counterrevolutionary clique and to eliminate counterrevolutionary movements. They repulsed the attacks launched by the bourgeois rightists, greatly strengthened party leadership over education, expanded the influence of proletarian ideology on the educational front and gradually made education serve proletarian politics. In accordance with this situation, education developed rapidly after the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the means of production and after the planned development of the national economy. In 1957 Chairman Mao affirmed the achievements of this period by saying: "AN UNPRECEDENTED AND PROSPEROUS SITUATION HAS EMERGED ON THE ECONOMIC, CULTURAL, EDUCATIONAL AND SCIENTIFIC FRONTS."

The revolution in education entered a new period of vigorous development during the Great Leap Forward in 1958.

Chairman Mao further indicated the orientation for proletarian education when he drew up the educational principle: "EDUCATION MUST SERVE PROLETARIAN POLITICS AND BE COMBINED WITH PRODUCTIVE LABOR IN ORDER TO ENABLE EVERYONE WHO RECEIVES AN EDUCATION TO DEVELOP MORALLY, INTELLECTUALLY AND PHYSICALLY AND BECOME A WORKER WITH BOTH A SOCIALIST CONSCIOUSNESS AND CULTURE." Under the leadership of Chairman Mao, a great revolution in education was launched throughout the country. A new system of combining teaching, production and scientific research was established as many new things emerged. During that year, Chairman Mao happily toured a number of schools where he clearly affirmed that the combination of education and productive labor was a great reform. Despite interference and sabotage by Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line, the revolution in education bore fruit and had a great impact on this field although the "gang of four" alleged that "the revolution in education was sabotaged by Liu Shao-chi and his cohorts as soon as it was launched." Verification of its impact was the 1961 formulation of the 60 articles for schools of higher learning and the working regulations for middle and elementary schools, approved by Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee. After reading the 60 articles, Chairman Mao happily said that, after a few years of effort, we have finally produced something of our own.

In 1962 Chairman Mao formulated our party's basic line for the historic period of socialism. Attaching importance to opposing and preventing revisionism and preventing the restoration of capitalism, he set forth the strategic task of "TRAINING AND BRINGING UP MILLIONS OF SUCCESSORS WHO WILL CARRY ON THE CAUSE OF PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION." As the revolution in education developed, masses of teachers and students actively participated in the socialist education movement in urban and rural areas. In his government work report delivered at the Third National People's Congress in late 1964, Premier Chou pointed out: "In the past few years we have improved teaching and raised the quality of education by following the principle of making education serve proletarian politics and combining education with productive labor."

The facts are: From the early days after liberation to just before the Great Cultural Revolution, the number of schools of higher learning increased from over 200 to more than 400; the number of students attending all types of schools totalled more than 103 million; 64.6 percent of the total number of college students came from worker and peasant families while only 9.4 percent came from the exploiting class; 77.9 percent of the total number of middle school students came from worker and peasant families while only 5.2 percent came from the exploiting class; with continuous improvements in education, a large number of talented people who were both Red and expert were transferred to all fronts throughout the country. All these achievements were the results of implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on education. Negating these achievements means negating Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

The principle of one dividing into two naturally applies to all things. For 17 years, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line was the guiding principle, but at the same time there was intervention and sabotage caused by Liu Shao-chi's counterrevolutionary revisionist line. To fight Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line, Chairman Mao criticized various aspects of education. In 1950, Chairman Mao criticized the error of Liu Shao-chi's proposal to "basically follow" the old education system by saying: "ON THIS PROBLEM, THE THINKING WHICH PROMOTES DELAYS AND THE UNWILLINGNESS TO CHANGE IS ERRONEOUS, AND THE THINKING WHICH PROMOTES HASTE AND CRUDE ATTEMPTS AT CHANGE IS EQUALLY ERRONEOUS." In 1956, Chairman Mao criticized the error of Liu Shao-chi's views of the Soviet experience by saying: "THEY ARE NOT ANALYTIC BUT SIMPLY TRANSPLANT [SOVIET THINGS] MECHANICALLY." In 1958, Chairman Mao put forth the basic principle that "EDUCATION SHOULD SERVE PROLETARIAN POLITICS AND SHOULD BE COMBINED WITH PRODUCTIVE LABOR." In accordance with Chairman Mao's 1971 remarks, the majority of the people on the education front implemented his revolutionary line.

There were a few people, however, who followed Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line and thus separated themselves from reality and from labor. Furthermore, the tendency to ignore politics still existed to a certain extent, and problems which reflected the old education system and teaching methods such as excessively long school years, heavy course loads, impractical teaching methods and an examination system which regarded students as enemies, were not fundamentally solved. Chairman Mao seriously criticized all of this in his 1964 spring festival statement. He pointed out: "THE EDUCATIONAL PRINCIPLE AND LINE ARE CORRECT BUT THE METHOD IS ERRONEOUS. I THINK EDUCATION SHOULD BE REFORMED AND THE PRESENT WAY OF DOING THIS IS INCORRECT." When the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution began, Chairman Mao further issued the great call "EDUCATION SHOULD BE REVOLUTIONIZED." In response to this call, hundreds of millions of revolutionary teachers and students on the education front actively participated in the Great Cultural Revolution, thus thoroughly settling accounts with Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line on education.

Could the conclusion that "Chairman Mao's revolutionary line was not basically implemented" be reached in view of the instructions "EDUCATION SHOULD BE REFORMED" and "EDUCATION SHOULD BE REVOLUTIONIZED"? The answer is: Absolutely not.

The "gang of four's" reactionary logic was as follows: Chairman Mao criticized education work for 17 years prior to the Great Cultural Revolution. This proves that his revolutionary line was not implemented and that a sinister line dominated the proletarian dictatorship. If Chairman Mao's revolutionary line were always recognized as the guide, it would mean negating the necessity of continuing the revolution and also mean opposing the Great Cultural Revolution.

This is a typical example of "METAPHYSICS IS RAMPANT," and is not only contrary to Chairman Mao's evaluation that "THE EDUCATIONAL PRINCIPLE AND LINE ARE CORRECT" but also shamelessly distorts Chairman Mao's theory on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

According to Chairman Mao's great theory on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the following phenomenon still exists in a socialist society: There are agreements as well as contradictions between the superstructure and the economic base. It is necessary, therefore, to continue the revolution in the realm of the superstructure to meet the needs for consolidating and developing the socialist economic base. However, one must neither negate those portions basically in agreement in order to reform those contradictory portions nor reach a counterrevolutionary conclusion of negating everything and suppressing everything.

Education is an important component of the superstructure. The proletarian revolution in education is a protracted and arduous course in continuing the revolution. Lenin said: "CULTURAL TASKS CANNOT BE FULFILLED AS QUICKLY AS POLITICAL AND MILITARY TASKS" and "THIS TAKES A RELATIVELY LONG PERIOD OF TIME AND, IN THIS RELATIVELY LONG PERIOD, WE SHOULD PLAN OUR WORK AND DISPLAY A DAUNTLESS, UNREMITTING AND CONSISTENT SPIRIT." ("Tasks for the New Economic Policy and Political Education Bureau," of "Complete Works of Lenin," Vol XXXIII, p 60)

Our socialist schools were established by transforming the semifeudal and semicolonial old society and the bourgeois old schools. Old influences were still felt at newly-built schools. The elimination of old bourgeois influence could not be realized as quickly as the measures taken to seize the capitalists' means of production, and had to be realized through a long and complicated political-ideological struggle. Establishing a proletarian leadership and implementing a correct line were the basic guarantee for transforming old education, but were not the end of the transformation in education.

How could the correctness of the party leadership and the correctness of the party-implemented line be negated simply because certain influences of the old education system still existed at our schools more than 10 years after the founding of the new China?

The "gang of four" unscrupulously distorted and tampered with Chairman Mao's instructions in order to make the slander that the education front had failed to carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line for 17 years. Chairman Mao pointed out: "THE LENGTH OF SCHOOLING SHOULD BE SHORTENED, EDUCATION SHOULD BE REVOLUTIONIZED AND THE DOMINATION OF OUR SCHOOLS BY BOURGEOIS INTELLECTUALS SHOULD NOT BE TOLERATED ANY LONGER." The phenomenon which Chairman Mao criticized did exist and had to be corrected. In 1971 Chairman Mao explicitly pointed out, however, that those carrying out the wrong line on the education front were not the majority but only a few; that most intellectuals support the socialist system; and that only a small number were implementing the feudalist, capitalist and revisionist lines. The domination of our schools by bourgeois intellectuals as criticized by Chairman Mao was clearly a phenomenon only in certain localities. The "gang of four" described this localized phenomenon, however, as a general situation existing in all education departments at all levels and in all schools. They alleged that all teachers were bourgeois intellectuals and that on the entire education front, "the bourgeoisie had exercised dictatorship over the proletariat." Wasn't this despicable and sly trick an act of recklessly trampling on Mao Tsetung Thought?

As a matter of fact, before the Great Cultural Revolution and as early as in his 1964 spring festival message Chairman Mao issued clear instructions on education. He affirmed the correctness of our principle and line on education, but pointed out the necessity of continuing the revolution. Chairman Mao's 1971 instruction agreed fully with the spirit of his 1964 instructions. The "gang of four" so feared Chairman Mao's 1964 instructions that they recklessly collaborated with Chen Po-ta to delete it at one stroke when compiling Chairman Mao's quotations on the education revolution. This is more iron-clad proof that they tampered with Chairman Mao's great thought and negated his revolutionary line.

Is the Intellectual a Force or a Target of the Revolution?

The second evaluation dished up by the "gang of four" was closely connected with the first one. Following the vilification that "the bourgeoisie had exercised dictatorship over the proletariat" for 17 years on the education front, they went on to slander the masses of teachers and the students trained by the schools as "bourgeois intellectuals" and "stinking intellectuals."

In 1957, Chairman Mao pointed out: "THE MAJORITY OF OUR PRESENT INTELLECTUALS ARE FROM THE OLD SOCIETY AND WERE BORN INTO FAMILIES OF NONLABORING PEOPLE. EVEN THOUGH SOME INTELLECTUALS CAME FROM FAMILIES OF WORKERS OR PEASANTS, THEY RECEIVED A BOURGEOIS EDUCATION PRIOR TO LIBERATION AND THEIR WORLD OUTLOOK IS BASICALLY BOURGEOIS. THEREFORE, THEY ARE STILL BOURGEOIS INTELLECTUALS." It is quite clear that this analysis by Chairman Mao covered about 5 million intellectuals at that time. In view of this situation, Chairman Mao emphasized the transformation of the intellectuals' world outlook. He explicitly pointed out: To build a mighty intellectual contingent of the working class, it is necessary to "INCLUDE ALL THOSE INTELLECTUALS WHO ARE FROM THE OLD SOCIETY BUT WHO HAVE TRULY BEEN TRANSFORMED AND WHO FIRMLY TAKE THE WORKING-CLASS STAND." The fundamental spirit of Chairman Mao's instruction is to teach us that we should persist in making class, historical and dialectical analyses of the intellectuals' political state and educate and encourage them to pay attention to transforming their world outlook, firmly keep to the working-class stand and serve the people still better.

The "gang of four" took away the essence of Chairman Mao's instructions, replaced dialectics with metaphysics, ignored time, place and other conditions, and deliberately applied the 1957 evaluation to 1971. By 1971, the number of intellectuals in our country had increased to over 20 million. Most of them were brought up in socialist new China. Insofar as their family backgrounds were concerned, workers or peasants comprised the majority. The proportion of party members and CYL members had greatly increased. In the schools they were also educated according to instructions from the party and Chairman Mao. Tempered in numerous political movements, particularly the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, all intellectuals, whether from the old society or trained in the new society, had greatly raised their political consciousness and had advanced in varying degrees in transforming their world outlook. A new intellectual contingent of the working class as anticipated by Chairman Mao had initially taken shape. Because of this, Chairman Mao made a new evaluation of intellectuals in his 1971 instructions. The "gang of four" blocked the dissemination of this instruction, however, and deliberately applied the evaluation he made 14 years ago to the more than 20 million old and new intellectuals of the 1970's. This can only show that they deliberately distorted and tampered with Mao Tsetung Thought.

The wise leader Chairman Hua pointed out in his political report at the 11th CCP National Congress: "Some of China's present-day intellectuals came from the old society, but most have been trained in the new. The overwhelming majority are willing to work hard for socialism and are indeed doing so. They are an invaluable force. Taken together, intellectuals who are more or less familiar with Marxism and who take a resolute stand--the stand of the proletariat--are a minority. However, the great majority, having been tempered in many political movements, particularly the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, have progressed in varying degrees in transforming their bourgeois world outlook into the proletarian world outlook, the process of gradually acquiring and consolidating the latter. Those who oppose socialism are very few in number." Totally correct and very comprehensive, Chairman Hua's incisive statement conforms to the essence of Chairman Mao's 1971 instruction on solving the problem of intellectuals and also testifies to the new progress that China's intellectuals have made in political consciousness and ideology since 1971. This is a sharp weapon to use in criticizing and repudiating the "two evaluations" of the "gang of four."

In the protracted course of China's revolution, Chairman Mao always attached great importance to the role of intellectuals and formulated our party's basic policy on uniting, educating and remolding them. During the period of socialist revolution and construction Chairman Mao pointed out: "CHINA NEEDS THE SERVICE OF AS MANY INTELLECTUALS AS POSSIBLE FOR THE COLOSSAL TASK OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION." He also said: "SOCIALIST SOCIETY MAINLY COMPRISES THREE SECTIONS OF PEOPLE: THE WORKERS, THE PEASANTS AND THE INTELLECTUALS. INTELLECTUALS ARE MENTAL WORKERS. THEY WORK TO SERVE THE PEOPLE; IN OTHER WORDS, TO SERVE THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS." Chairman Mao considered all workers, poor and lower-middle peasants and revolutionary intellectuals as the force that the dictatorship of the proletariat had to rely on. In line with Chairman Mao's consistent teachings, Premier Chou also pointed out that to build socialism with greater, faster, better and more economic results, "it is necessary to rely on the close cooperation between mental and physical workers and on the fraternal alliance between the workers, peasants and intellectuals." The "gang of four" grouped the masses of intellectuals together with landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements, rightists, renegades, special agents and capitalist roaders, however, and labeled them the "stinking ninth category," thus turning the original motive force for revolution into the target of the revolution. This fundamentally disrupted the class alignment and reversed the relations between the enemy and ourselves.

The "gang of four" also distorted the difference between physical and mental workers as class antagonism, willfully eroded the relationship between the workers, peasants and intellectuals and undermined their fraternal alliance. They unscrupulously opposed Chairman Mao's 1971 instructions on the necessity of respecting teachers and capriciously engineered the antagonism between "worker-peasant-soldier teachers" and "regular teachers," and between "worker-peasant-soldier students" and "regular teachers," thereby seriously undermining revolutionary teacher-student relations, dampening the enthusiasm of both teachers and students, and preventing the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and their children from acquiring the abilities necessary to build socialism. Although pretending to defend the interests of the workers, peasants and soldiers, the "gang of four" were actually perpetrating the crimes which impaired their interests.

The "gang of four" were particularly hostile to the new generation of intellectuals brought up during the 17 years prior to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and slandered them as "young revisionists" for "undermining the foundation of socialism." Chang Tieh-sheng, the counterrevolutionary knave, ranted hysterically: "I'm afraid that if and when Soviet revisionists attack China, maybe they [the new-generation intellectuals] will carry white flags to welcome the invaders in the streets." A henchman of the "gang of four" in the Ministry of Education also clamored: "Party-member teachers around 40 years old are the most dangerous," and so on. The revolutionary intellectuals brought up by the new China ardently love the party and socialism and have had a profound affection for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. They have worked hard and diligently without complaining. Together with the workers, peasants and soldiers, they have worked in all fields of endeavor in the motherland. A majority of them have become the backbone in China's socialist revolution and construction. Not a single achievement in our socialist revolution and construction has ever been made without their diligent and arduous toil! The "gang of four" stated without qualification that the world outlook of the masses of intellectuals was "bourgeois" and labeled them bourgeois elements. Weren't the "gang of four" just deliberately undermining socialism?

Similarly, the "gang of four" had an ulterior motive in making the question of remolding one's world outlook appear so abstruse. In raising the question of remolding one's world outlook, Chairman Mao meant to revolutionize the intellectuals and push them ahead in order to better develop their initiative. It was the gang's intent to attack people, determine their class status according to the gang's requirements, and label them according to the so-called world outlook employed by the "gang of four." The remolding of one's world outlook takes a long time and applies not only to intellectuals but to all people in a socialist society. The esteemed and beloved Premier Chou earnestly admonished us: We must "learn and remold our ideology as long as we live." Intellectuals are educators. We must pay special attention to remolding them and let them be students first before becoming teachers.

Chairman Mao clarified what is meant by thoroughly remolding one's world outlook: "TO BE RED, WE MUST BE DETERMINED TO THOROUGHLY REMOLD OUR BOURGEOIS WORLD OUTLOOK. THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT WE MUST READ MANY BOOKS BUT THAT WE MUST TRULY UNDERSTAND WHO THE PROLETARIAT IS, WHAT THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT IS, WHY THE PROLETARIAT ALONE HAS FIRM PROSPECTS WHILE OTHER CLASSES ARE TRANSITIONAL, WHY OUR COUNTRY MUST TAKE THE SOCIALIST AND NOT THE CAPITALIST ROAD, WHY WE NEED THE COMMUNIST PARTY'S LEADERSHIP AND OTHER QUESTIONS." Chairman Mao's teaching implies that the issue of remolding one's world outlook and joining the ranks of proletarian intellectuals is not at all abstruse and impossible. The basic question in world outlook is whom do we serve. Since most intellectuals ardently love the party and the motherland, support socialism, and are willing to serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, they are, as Chairman Hua said, transforming their bourgeois world outlook into a proletarian world outlook and gradually acquiring and consolidating a proletarian world outlook.

Our task is to encourage them to continue to follow this correct path and to confidently advance toward joining the ranks of proletarian intellectuals.

Hold High Chairman Mao's Great Banner and Carry Through to the End the Proletarian Revolution in Education

Our country has entered a new historical period of development since the smashing of the "gang of four" antiparty clique. Today we are thoroughly criticizing the "two evaluations" concocted by the "gang of four." This is of tremendous importance in holding Chairman Mao's great banner high, comprehensively and correctly mastering and applying Mao Tsetung Thought as a system, persisting in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and carrying the revolution in education through to the end.

Lenin taught us: "THE THEORETICAL VICTORY OF MARXISM HAS FORCED ITS ENEMY TO DISGUISE ITSELF AS A MARXIST." ("Historical Destiny of Marxist Theory," "Collected Works of Lenin" Vol 18, p 583) Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, all kinds of class enemies invariably and frenziedly wave Marxist banners to distort and tamper with Marxism. This was clearly seen in our party's struggles against Liu Shao-chi and especially against Lin Piao and the "gang of four" antiparty clique. Vice Chairman Yeh recently pointed out: "Lin Piao, the 'gang of four' and their company sometimes severed Marxism from Mao Tsetung Thought, sometimes set one principle of Marxism against another and always used words and sentences to deceive and threaten others without regard to historic conditions and the spirit of the original text."

The "gang of four" did precisely this when they schemed to concoct the "two evaluations" to oppose the party and usurp power. As the third campaign in the struggle to deepen the exposure and criticism of the "gang of four" begins, the profound significance of our criticizing the "two evaluations" and exposing the criminal scheme behind them is, therefore, far greater than the criticism itself and covers more than the education front. This is a great struggle to defend Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. We must make great efforts to completely and correctly propagandize Chairman Mao's ideas on education, his important directive issued in 1971 and Chairman Hua's scientific analysis on education and the question of intellectuals in his political report to the 11th National CCP Congress. After going through this struggle, we will have raised our Marxist level greatly and deepened our understanding of Mao Tsetung Thought as a system.

As tens of millions of cadres and masses on the the education front rise to smash the spiritual shackles which the "gang of four" imposed on them, and now that the development of the situation urgently demands rapid progress in education work, why do the "gang of four's" "two evaluations" still bewilder and scare some people? Why are some comrades still unable to roll up their sleeves and catch up with the needs of the situation? One of the major reasons is that these comrades still do not completely understand the true history of the struggle between the two lines on the education front. As a result, they find it difficult to completely and correctly grasp and use Mao Tsetung Thought as a system to thoroughly expose the "gang of four's" dirty underhanded tricks of twisting and tampering with Chairman Mao's line on education.

The exposure and criticism of the "gang of four's" "two evaluations" are of great significance to the revolution in education. At present, the situation on the education front is excellent, and we have a great deal of work to do. The most fundamental task, however, is to use Mao Tsetung Thought as a system and link it with practical work, deepen the exposure and criticism of the great variety of fallacies and heresies of the "gang of four," clearly distinguish the correct line from the erroneous one, break spiritual shackles, conscientiously summarize both the positive and negative experiences in our country's education work over the past 28 years, and continuously summarize our present experiences.

We must emancipate our minds and dare to engage in and be good at destruction and construction.

Some comrades have said well: "Our attitude toward the work done over the past 28 years determines how we are going to do our work in the coming 23 years." We must take an analytic attitude and seek truth from facts toward the past 28 years of education work. We must thoroughly expose and vehemently criticize the counterrevolutionary revisionist line on education pushed by Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the "gang of four" and wipe out its remnant pernicious influence. We must not allow any potentially disastrous influences to remain with us. We must specifically affirm the achievements and experiences which conform to Chairman Mao's line on education and continuously maintain and expand them. No one should be terrified by the accusations of the "gang of four." It is necessary to dare to break through the so-called "forbidden areas" they unreasonably established. It is necessary to bravely correct right and wrong things which they reversed. At present, the proletarian revolution in education in our country is still in the testing stage. It is necessary for us to maintain the good style of work of seeking truth from facts and the mass line, try to do practical work, boldly do creative work, and conscientiously summarize new experiences under the guidance of Mao Tsetung Thought.

If our orientation is correct and our attitude cautious, we will not find it difficult to solve problems that may arise. Only by doing these things can we make genuine strides in the revolution in education and can education work meet the needs of the rapid development of the present socialist revolution and construction and the needs of the four modernizations. This is the conclusion which we should reach by criticizing the "two evaluations."

MAKE FULL USE OF AND ACTIVELY DEVELOP SHANGHAI'S INDUSTRY SO AS TO MAKE STILL GREATER CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE REALIZATION OF THE FOUR MODERNIZATIONS

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[Article by Peng Chung, also published in the 8 December PEOPLE'S DAILY]

[Text] The 11th National CCP Congress has marked a great milestone in our party's history and has ushered in a new period in the development of our socialist revolution and construction. Our wise leader Chairman Hua has called on the whole party to hold high Chairman Mao's great banner, adhere to the party's basic line in the historical period of socialism, grasp the key link and run the country well, continue the revolution, and work hard to build a powerful, modern socialist country. Shanghai's 10 million people have enthusiastically responded to the call issued by Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee and are confidently welcoming the new fighting tasks so as to win new victories.

Shanghai has a glorious revolutionary tradition. Guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line since liberation, Shanghai has been transformed into a new type of socialist industrial base from a semicolonial, semifeudal and abnormally developed city that had been known as "a paradise for adventurers." The city has played an active role in the country's socialist revolution and construction. To fulfill the historic tasks put forward by the 11th party congress, we must hold high Chairman Mao's great banner, firmly grasp the exposure and criticism of the "gang of four" as the key link, implement the line of the 11th party congress in an all-round way, continue to push Shanghai's role as a coastal industrial base, actively shoulder the arduous national construction tasks and meet the urgent needs of the state, race against time, and work as quickly as possible in order to make a still greater contribution to the realization of our country's four modernizations.

1. Before liberation, Shanghai was called China's largest industrial city, but in reality, it only had some light industrial plants. Its heavy industry only produced several thousand tons of steel annually while due to a lack of manufacturing capability, the city's machinery industry was limited to some repair and assembly work. What policy should have been adopted toward such a city of the old society as Shanghai? Should it have been allowed to continue its course? This was a question that had to be solved.

In his work "On the Ten Major Relationships," our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao scientifically expounded on the relationship between industry in the coastal and interior regions and criticized the erroneous view that we should stop developing the coastal industry because it represented an easy target during an imperialist attack.

He clearly pointed out that the idea that the atom bomb is already overhead and ready to fall on us at any second is inconsistent with reality. He said that we should make full use of the coastal industry's plant capacity and technical forces during the period of peace before the outbreak of another world war.

Chairman Mao said: "WITHOUT A DOUBT, THE MAJOR PORTION OF THE NEW INDUSTRY SHOULD BE LOCATED IN THE INTERIOR SO THAT IT WILL GRADUALLY BE DISTRIBUTED EVENLY; MOREOVER, THIS WILL HELP OUR PREPARATIONS AGAINST WAR." But, he added: "THE COASTAL INDUSTRIAL BASE MUST BE PUT TO FULL USE" and "MAKING GOOD USE OF THE OLD INDUSTRIES IN THE COASTAL REGIONS AND DEVELOPING THEIR CAPACITIES WILL PUT US IN A STRONGER POSITION TO PROMOTE AND SUPPORT INDUSTRY IN THE INTERIOR." Regarding the prerequisite that the "major portion of new industry be located in the interior, "A NUMBER OF NEW FACTORIES AND MINES, INCLUDING SOME LARGE ONES, MAY ALSO BE BUILT IN THE COASTAL REGIONS. AS FOR THE EXPANSION AND RECONSTRUCTION OF THE LIGHT AND HEAVY INDUSTRIES ALREADY IN THE COASTAL REGIONS, WE HAVE DONE A FAIR AMOUNT OF WORK IN THE PAST AND WILL DO MUCH MORE IN THE FUTURE," he said. The above statements by Chairman Mao suggested that coastal industry not only must be fully utilized, but must be vigorously developed as well. These statements have pointed out the orientation in developing Shanghai's industry.

Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat has guided our efforts in fully utilizing and actively developing Shanghai's industry. After basically completing the socialist transformation of the capitalist industry, commerce and handicrafts, the working class of Shanghai and the people of the country, led by Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee, have continued the revolution in the superstructure and, at the same time, the revolution in the sphere of productive relations and carried out technical innovations as well as technical revolution. All this has spurred the development of Shanghai's industry.

Chairman Mao pointed out that after basically completing the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, "SOCIALIST RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION HAVE BEEN ESTABLISHED AND ARE IN CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE GROWTH OF THE PRODUCTIVE FORCES, BUT THESE RELATIONS ARE STILL FAR FROM PERFECT AND THIS IMPERFECTION STANDS IN CONTRADICTION TO THE GROWTH OF THE PRODUCTIVE FORCES." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People")

Take the situation on Shanghai's industrial front as an example. The nature of enterprise ownership changed after enterprises became joint state-private businesses, but these enterprises were small. Their widely dispersed means of production and labor forces made it impossible for them to adopt advanced technology. Nor was it possible to quickly rectify the unbalanced ratio between light and heavy industry in the industrial structure. If this situation had remained unchanged, it would not have been possible to fully utilize the plant capacity and technical forces of Shanghai's industry and still less to develop the industry as a whole. In order to revamp the socialist productive relations that did not conform to the productive forces' development, the enterprises were reorganized economically. Through this process, the number of large and medium-sized enterprises increased, the number of small enterprises declined and the labor force and the means of production were brought closer together. Such adjustments and improvements spurred the industrial structure's transformation. As a result of merging, expanding, and building a number of new plants, the steel, chemical, heavy machinery, automobile and tractor, shipbuilding, electronics, instrument and motor and other branches of heavy industry advanced significantly.

Moreover, the many light and textile industry plants concentrated in Shanghai were either closed or merged for their technical reformation. This has enhanced their production capabilities and freed tremendous amounts of manpower and plant space for supporting heavy industry and promoting watch, camera, TV and other new industries.

Economic reorganization was carried out together with the technical revolution and innovations in the interest of achieving industry's technical reform. Technical reform was not primarily achieved by building new plants or adding whole sets of new equipment, but by tapping production potentials and by innovation and renovation. For instance, textile workers have carried out major technical innovations three times to rejuvenate the 1920-1930's machinery taken over from the old society. Thanks to their efforts, our cotton textile industry has reached the advanced world level, and by utilizing 1,000 spindles per hour, cotton yarn output has increased to 45 kilograms from a low of some 10 kilograms in the early days following liberation. Cotton yarn production has increased by 140 percent in the past 28 years despite the fact that one-fourth fewer spindles and one-eighth fewer textile workers are now engaged in the industry. Shanghai's metallurgical industry's production lagged during the early days following liberation. It only had several small foreign open-hearth furnaces that had been dismantled and shipped to China during World War II. A number of expansion and reconstruction projects and a modest investment in the construction of some new backbone enterprises have boosted steel production to several million tons. The current daily output of the metallurgical industry has surpassed the output for the 2 years prior to liberation.

Through economic reorganization and technical reform, original industrial strength has been used more completely, production potential has been further tapped and the industrial structure has been markedly changed. Total industrial output value increased 18.3 times from 1949 to 1976. With the great development of the previously weak basic industry and the raising of its technical level as a whole, heavy industry's proportion of the total industrial output value rose from 13.6 to 53.4 percent during the same period. Shanghai has thus become a comprehensive industrial base with a relative balance between heavy and light industries and a greater variety of industries.

While fully utilizing and actively developing, its industry, Shanghai has strengthened and supported industry in the interior. During the past 20 years and more, it has provided enormous machinery, equipment, capital and technical forces to industry in the interior. Statistics show the state's capital construction investment in Shanghai from 1950 to 1976 amounted to only 7.6 percent of the financial income turned over to the state by Shanghai during the same period. The financial accumulation provided the country by Shanghai accounted for 41.9 percent of the country's capital construction investment during the period under review. Since liberation, Shanghai has trained several hundred thousand technicians and technical workers for other parts of the country together with more than 100,000 apprentices. This indicates that Chairman Mao's instruction on making proper use of and developing industry in the coastal regions is completely correct and fulfills the necessity of accelerating the development of our country's socialist construction.

2. Shanghai has made tremendous industrial achievements under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and in the fierce struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines. Since liberation Shanghai's industry has been obstructed and sabotaged first by Liu Shao-chi and then by Lin Biao and especially by the antiparty "gang of four." The "gang of four" entrenched themselves in Shanghai for 10 years, opposed Chairman Mao's instructions and tried by hook or by crook to turn Shanghai into their base for usurping party and state power. They fanatically pushed their counter-revolutionary political program and revisionist line and did their utmost to involve Shanghai's industry in their attempt to usurp party and state power, thus bringing the gravest damage to Shanghai's industry.

Their pernicious influence in Shanghai is most widespread and must be thoroughly exposed and criticized.

Industry in the coastal regions must be fully utilized and developed under the centralized, unified leadership of the central authorities. Chairman Mao pointed out: "TO BUILD A POWERFUL SOCIALIST COUNTRY IT IS IMPERATIVE TO HAVE A STRONG AND UNIFIED CENTRAL LEADERSHIP AND UNIFIED PLANNING AND DISCIPLINE THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY; DISRUPTION OF THIS INDISPENSABLE UNITY IS IMPERMISSIBLE." ("On the Ten Major Relationships") The socialist economy is characterized by planned, proportioned development under the unified leadership of the central authorities. If the centralized, unified state leadership were weakened or rejected, if unified state planning were undermined, not only would it be impossible for industries in the coastal and interior regions to support each other, but capitalism would become rampant and the socialist economy would disintegrate.

However, the "gang of four" and their followers in Shanghai went all out to oppose the centralized, unified leadership of the central authorities over Shanghai's industry. They vilified centralized leadership and unified planning as "direct and exclusive control of enterprises by the ministry concerned" and as "fascist dictatorship." They established their own system, formulated their own policies, went their own way and frenziedly tried to build an independent kingdom.

Acting according to instructions from his sinister masters, a follower of the "gang of four" on Shanghai's industrial and communications front flagrantly told cadres of a factory that "you should act according to instructions issued in Shanghai, not those from Peking." Chen A-ta even put it more bluntly: "When one eats food provided by Shanghai, one should work for Shanghai. Whoever does not work for Shanghai should not be fed." Time and again they deferred defense construction projects which were approved and repeatedly advocated by Chairman Mao and Premier Chou, and finally even refused to start them. At the same time, they took the liberty to build what they called "the Wang Hung-wen project," "the Chiang Ching project," "the Chen A-ta project" and so on in order to make Shanghai's industrial production and capital construction serve their purpose of usurping party and state power.

The aim of fully utilizing and actively developing Shanghai's industry is to more effectively support industrial development in the interior regions and to accelerate our country's socialist construction. To this end, Shanghai should actively support industrial development in the interior with manpower, material resources and technology and make further contributions to realizing the four modernizations. Shanghai should produce more good-quality products which are urgently needed by the state and which are technically difficult to produce.

Contrary to this, however, the "gang of four" and their followers in Shanghai adopted the counterrevolutionary tactic of "stabilizing Shanghai, creating turmoil in other places and seizing power amid the chaos." They arbitrarily obstructed aid requested by fraternal provinces and municipalities for certain projects. They even dumped rubbish in neighbors' yards and sabotaged industrial construction in other provinces and municipalities.

Viciously sowing discord in the relations between Shanghai and other provinces and municipalities, Chang Chun-chiao alleged that "it is increasingly risky for Shanghai to depend on other places for support. This is a general tendency which is independent of man's will."

In resisting the central authorities' plan to organize economic coordination zones in the country, Ma Tien-shui uttered the nonsense that "I won't do it. If we should do it, several provinces would ask Shanghai for something. In that case, should we give them what they ask for or not?" Chen A-ta echoed Ma Tien-shui, saying that "this is a losing proposition. We just cannot do it."

Shanghai belongs to the people throughout the country. It does not have mines, nor does it produce coal or petroleum. The raw materials Shanghai needs for its light industry and a considerable amount of the grain and nonstaple food the municipality's industrial workers require are supplied by fraternal provinces and municipalities. It can be said that without the support of fraternal provinces and municipalities Shanghai could not have become what it is today, nor will it be able to become what it could be tomorrow. Since all other parts of the country support Shanghai, it is only natural for Shanghai to give support to the interior and other areas.

However, the "gang of four" and their followers in Shanghai regarded the municipality's industry which is owned by the whole people as their private property. They constantly talked about "business" and "losing money," thus fully revealing their reactionary bourgeois nature as conspirators and careerists.

By pushing their ultrarightist counterrevolutionary revisionist line, the "gang of four" created turmoil not only in other places but in Shanghai itself. They also sabotaged Shanghai's industry to a serious extent. In the past few years, the "gang of four" and their followers dished out "three impermissibles" and "five shouldn'ts"--it was impermissible to learn from and publicize Taching, impermissible to visit Taching, and impermissible to exchange experiences in learning from Taching; and one should not practice the system of personal responsibility, should not commend the advanced, should not start a labor emulation campaign, should not strengthen labor discipline, and should not hit hard at the capitalist forces. They slandered the workers and cadres who were enthusiastic about developing socialist production as those "practicing the theory of productive forces"; they slandered the improvement of rules and regulations as "controlling, restricting and suppressing" the workers; and they slandered accumulating funds for the state as "putting profits in command." They labeled veteran cadres, veteran workers, engineers and technicians as "democrats," "capitalist roaders," "those who have vested interests," "the stinking ninth category" and so on to dampen their enthusiasm. Such perverted actions by the "gang of four" made it impossible for cadres to do a good job in production, for engineers and technicians to grasp techniques and for the workers to do well in labor. Thus, many factories had no management and operation regulations and failed to do economic accounting. As a result, their output dropped and their production costs increased. Consequently, industrial development was slowed. Particularly in recent years when the "gang of four" stepped up their efforts to usurp party and state power. Shanghai's investment in capital construction and the number of workers and staff members on its industrial front continuously increased while the pace of its industrial development slowed. The growth rate of Shanghai's industrial output value gradually decreased from 14.8 percent in 1970 to 2 percent in 1976.

The sabotage of Shanghai's industry by the "gang of four" and their followers in the municipality can be seen from the change that occurred in the Shanghai No 5 cotton textile mill. This cotton textile mill was originally a model in high output, good quality and low consumption of raw materials. The whole cotton textile trade in the municipality used to praise "the cotton cloth of the No 33 cotton textile mill and the cotton of the No 5 cotton textile mill."

Acting in accordance with Chang Chun-chiao's sinister instruction on "grasping an example in restraining oneself and restoring the rites," however, Ma Tien-shui slandered the Shanghai No 5 cotton textile mill as "a model in bringing about restoration and retrogression," suppressed a number of revolutionary cadres as "capitalist roaders," and hit hard at the workers as "the social basis for the capitalist roaders," thus creating a foul atmosphere in the mill which had been a good factory. As a result, no consumers wanted to buy cotton yarn from the mill for which they had competed in the past. The amount of profits it turned over to the state in 1976 decreased by more than 20 million yuan as compared with that in 1971.

After the party Central Committee headed by the wise leader Chairman Hua smashed the "gang of four," the cadres and masses of the Shanghai No 5 cotton textile mill, with the enthusiasm engendered by having been liberated once again, loftily pledged to "grasp the key link, run the mill well and aim high in production in order to make the No 5 cotton textile mill join the advanced ranks once again." In a few months people changed their thinking and the mill took on a new look. Cotton yarn output per unit reached the highest record set in the past, and the mill began to turn out knit products as good as those produced in the past. This mill has now become one of Shanghai's advanced enterprises in learning from Taching in the course of the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four."

Although the political scheme of the "gang of four" to usurp party and state power has now been smashed, the confusion they caused regarding right and wrong in the political line is still far from being clarified. To make further use of Shanghai's industry, vigorously develop it, and make it contribute more to the realization of the four modernizations in our country, we must conscientiously and thoroughly implement our wise leader Chairman Hua's instructions and carry the great struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" through to the end. Not only must we settle accounts with them in the sphere of political and organizational lines, but we must also criticize them on the theoretical plane of philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism in order to thoroughly eliminate their pernicious influence on the question of industrial construction.

3. How can we make full use of and actively develop Shanghai's industry so as to make still greater contributions to the realization of the four modernizations?

Chairman Hua pointed out: "The question of construction speed is not purely an economic one but a political one as well." The struggle between the two superpowers--the USSR and the United States--for world hegemony is bound to lead to a new world war some day. We are determined to abide by the instructions of Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee and take the question of speed as a central theme in planning the development of Shanghai's industry. We are determined to make full use of Shanghai's existing facilities and favorable conditions in order to develop the national economy as quickly as possible and support national economic and defense construction by means of the most advanced technical equipment, the best technicians and specialized personnel and still greater financial accumulations.

First of all, it is mandatory to develop basic industries at a high speed, vigorously carry out technical innovations and reforms, make efforts to develop the most advanced, high-grade, precision products and build Shanghai into an industrial base on the advanced world level.

Chairman Hua pointed out in his political report to the 11th National CCP Congress: "In the field of industry, we should make a success of light industry while simultaneously trying hard to speed up the development of the basic industries by concentrating our forces on several all-out campaigns." In compliance with the spirit of Chairman Hua's instruction, we envisage concentrating our forces on rapidly advancing the iron and steel, petroleum and chemical, and electronics industries, achieving a greater breakthrough in respect to quantity and bringing about a tremendous leap forward in these industries before 1985 as regards variety, quality and production technology.

As regards the iron and steel industry, it is necessary to accelerate technical reforms, completely overcome this industry's backwardness, vigorously apply new technology, smelt more fine-quality alloy steel so as to double and redouble the quantity, greatly increase the variety and bring about a relatively greater increase in varieties now scarce or lacking such as high-temperature [kao wen 7559 3306] alloys, precision alloys, rare earth [hsi tu 4449 0960] metals, refractory [nan jung 7181 3579] metals and so forth.

As for the petrochemical industry, it is necessary to fully develop the multipurpose utilization of petroleum resources so that by the time the sixth 5-year plan is completed, we will have increased the proportion of petroleum and chemical industry products among the municipality's chemical raw materials from the present level of around 20 percent to over 80 percent. At the same time, it is necessary to save large amounts of cotton, grain, vegetable oil and timber for the state.

As regards the electronics industry, it is essential to properly grasp the development and technology surrounding its major component, the electronic computer, and further strengthen the foundation of the electronics industry, particularly the mass production of integrated electric circuits and software [juan chien 6516 0115]. It is necessary to extensively apply electronic computer technology in all industrial, communications, capital construction and scientific research and other departments and in every area of life.

The high-speed development of basic industries will push forward and promote the development of other industries. The machine building industry should provide the country with large, extra-large, precision and new machinery in its realization of the four modernizations. The aeronautical and shipbuilding industries should engage in the research and production of large passenger planes, freighters, container ships and all kinds of engineering vessels [kung cheng chuan 1562 4453 5307]. We should strive to bring a considerable number of products of Shanghai's major industrial departments to a level close to or equal to advanced world levels with respect to variety and quality by the time the sixth 5-year plan is completed in 1985. By that time, certain products that already have solid foundations should be surpassing advanced world levels.

While accelerating the development of heavy industry, we should do a good job in developing light and handicraft industries. We should strive to change the make-up of raw materials for the light textile industry, increase the use of synthetic materials and lightweight metals and actively develop products which require fewer materials and are of high quality and new design. The handicraft industry should continue to develop in the direction of semi-mechanization and mechanization, and should also pay attention to developing traditional products. Only thus can we satisfy the need to gradually improve the people's livelihood and meet the requirements of Shanghai--an important foreign trade base for increasing exports.

Second, it is necessary to give fuller play to industry's leading role and strengthen its support for agriculture. We should not only raise the suburban counties' level of agricultural mechanization and accelerate the industrialization of their communes, but also help other parts of the country realize agricultural mechanization.

Agriculture and industry are two closely related production departments; the former is the foundation of the national economy and the latter its leading factor. One of socialist industry's important tasks is to equip and reform agriculture through advanced techniques so as to speed up its modernization. Because Shanghai is the largest city in our country, in the course of more fully utilizing and positively developing industry we should first raise the production of support-agriculture products to a new high. We must produce and provide the whole country with more, better and cheaper agricultural machinery, chemical fertilizers, effective insecticides with a low poison content, agricultural irrigation and power equipment and transport facilities so as to contribute to accelerating agricultural mechanization and building more Tachai-type counties. We will produce whatever machinery is required in the necessary quantities to achieve agricultural mechanization throughout the whole country. We will go ahead with the task when the conditions exist and, when they do not exist, go ahead by creating the necessary conditions. An area with a more developed industry should pay greater attention to developing its agriculture. Firmly grasping agricultural production in the 10 counties on the outskirts of Shanghai to insure continuous advances in agricultural, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline and fishery production according to Chairman Mao's policy of "TAKING GRAIN AS THE KEY LINK AND INSURING AN ALL-ROUND DEVELOPMENT" is of great importance in insuring Shanghai's industrial development and improving the life of its inhabitants. Shanghai's suburbs have fundamentally realized agricultural mechanization or semimechanization, but they should make continuous efforts to increase mechanization and gradually increase the use of electronic and automated equipment. At the same time, effective assistance should be furnished to the 10 suburban counties to help them industrialize communes. We are planning to move some municipal industries which are either involved in agricultural production or can operate in the rural areas, to state farms and communes in the suburbs after carrying out adjustments among various industries. In 1976, the total value of the output of county, commune and brigade enterprises on the outskirts of Shanghai had already equaled the total value of Shanghai's industrial output as a whole in the early post-liberation period. Industrial output value now accounts for 60 percent of the 10 counties' total industrial and agricultural output value. Thus, the 10 suburban counties have been changed into part-agricultural and part-industrial counties from purely agricultural counties. The commune and brigade enterprises which Chairman Mao praised as "GREAT AND BRIGHT HOPES" will develop even more rapidly. The development of commune and brigade industries will not only fully tap the potential of rural labor, increase the income of commune members and provide a large amount of funds for agricultural mechanization, but also increase the brigades' economic strength, especially those of communes, and create the necessary material conditions for the transition from the production team to the brigade and then to the commune as the basic unit of ownership.

Third, it is necessary to modernize science and technology, develop science and education in Shanghai and build Shanghai into a scientific base that has attained advanced world levels. Marxism tells us: "SCIENCE IS A MOTIVE AND REVOLUTIONARY FORCE IN HISTORY." (Engels: "Karl Marx's Burial Ceremony," page 375, Volume 19, "Complete Collection of Works by Marx and Engels") Science comes from production and in turn guides and promotes it. There are two ways to develop production. One is to increase labor and the other is to increase labor productivity.

Lenin pointed out: "IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, LABOR PRODUCTIVITY IS THE MOST IMPORTANT, THE PRINCIPAL THING FOR THE VICTORY OF THE NEW SOCIAL SYSTEM. CAPITALISM CREATED A LABOR PRODUCTIVITY UNKNOWN UNDER SERFDOM. CAPITALISM CAN BE UTTERLY VANQUISHED, AND WILL BE UTTERLY VANQUISHED BY SOCIALISM CREATING A NEW AND MUCH HIGHER LABOR PRODUCTIVITY." ("A Great Beginning," page 16, Volume 4, "Selected Works of Lenin") In order to raise labor productivity, it is necessary to continuously improve production techniques so as to modernize industrial and agricultural production. Chairman Mao always placed emphasis on developing science and technology. Last May, Chairman Hua opportunely issued important instructions on developing our country's science and technology. He called on the whole party to simultaneously grasp class struggle, struggle for production, and struggle for scientific experimentation as "THREE GREAT REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS IN BUILDING A STRONG SOCIALIST COUNTRY."

Shanghai has a contingent of well-trained scientists and technologists, a number of scientific institutes which are materially and technically well equipped, and many years of experience in organizing large joint projects and tackling major problems. These are all favorable factors. We are determined to follow the guidelines of the "CCP Central Committee Circular on Convening the National Conference on Science" and make a great effort to enhance science and technology. We will organize and coordinate the efforts of the scientific institutes, schools of higher learning, enterprises and the scientific and technical organizations of the masses to tackle the major problems, scale the heights and, in the course of our practice, establish a number of scientific centers and bases to study new technology, train a large number of first-rate scientists and train an even larger number of experts capable of implementing technical innovations, and skilled workers. We expect that with these efforts Shanghai will approach and catch up with advanced levels in most of the major areas of science and technology and in the variety and quality of its industrial products and surpass advanced world levels in certain areas by the end of this century.

Scientific and technological development must begin with education. We must pay attention to secondary and primary schools, run the major schools well, improve the quality of education and expand postgraduate training so that the whole city and the whole country will be continuously supplied with specialists who have socialist consciousness and who will meet the requirements of the four modernizations.

4. We must conscientiously grasp urban transformation and construction. This is a step that must be taken in order to continue making full use of and actively develop Shanghai's industry.

Since Shanghai's urban construction originally did not follow a unified plan, urban development was abnormal and irrational. After liberation, great efforts have been made for Shanghai's transformation and construction, and the appearance of the city has been improved a great deal. But more time is needed to fundamentally transform its features. From now on, to meet the needs of Shanghai's industrial development, the pace of urban transformation and construction will be accelerated.

In view of the fact that Shanghai already is too large and that the urban area should not be further expanded, suburban construction, particularly in industrial towns located in the remote outskirts, should be stepped up. Facilities should also be expanded in some townships in the suburban counties so that scattered industrial towns will gradually be built and linked up with the urban areas. This will help improve industrial distribution and narrow differences between the urban and the rural areas.

By means of a planned readjustment, urban land will be reclaimed for the construction of living quarters and for the expansion of green areas so that the urban area will gradually be beautified and people's living conditions throughout Shanghai will gradually be improved.

Collective welfare work must also be expanded step by step. Construction of nonstaple food bases for the urban area must be actively and properly carried out. Production and supply of vegetables must also be properly handled, and mechanized pig and chicken breeding must be stepped up. We expect that in 3 to 5 years Shanghai will be self-sufficient in pork, eggs, poultry and aquatic products.

We must pay attention to the major problems in the people's livelihood and resolve these problems conscientiously so that the workers will have no worries and will take part in building socialism energetically and contribute their efforts to speeding up Shanghai's industrial development.

The tasks we have just mentioned in connection with making full use of and actively developing Shanghai's industry will be difficult but glorious. We are fully confident that, under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua and with the energetic assistance of fraternal provinces and municipalities, we will be able to realize the magnificent goal of building our country into a great socialist modern power with modern agriculture, modern industry, modern national defense and modern science and technology, and building Shanghai into an advanced socialist industrial base and a scientific and technological base by relying on the working class wholeheartedly, mobilizing all positive factors, going all out, aiming high and striving to implement the strategic policy decision of grasping the key link and running the country well.

KEEP TO THE 7 MAY ROAD, RUN STILL BETTER THE AGRICULTURAL AND SIDELINE
PRODUCTION OF INDUSTRIAL AND MINING ENTERPRISES

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[Article by Sung Ping [1345 1627], first secretary of the Kansu Provincial
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[Text]

I

For industrial and mining enterprises to keep to the "7 May" road and undertake agricultural and sideline production well is a vital aspect of China's taking its own road of industrial development and an important part of learning from Ta-ch'ing in industry and building Ta-ch'ing-type enterprises across the country. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's "7 May Directive," industrial and mining enterprises in Kansu Province have developed agricultural and sideline production to a certain extent over the past decade and more.

The Yumen Petroleum Administrative Bureau took the lead in going in for agricultural and sideline production among industrial and mining enterprises in our province. Many of its leading cadres and workers were demobilized army men; they had the fine tradition and practical experience of carrying out a large-scale production movement in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia border region. In 1959 Comrade Yu Chiu-li visited Yumen and stayed there for a period to check on its work. After overcoming numerous difficulties by displaying the "nanniwan" spirit, Comrade Yu organized the masses of workers of the entire bureau to set up the first agricultural and sideline production base in accordance with an instruction issued by Chairman Mao while inspecting the Wuhan steel complex. Thereafter he frequently examined the operations of the farm and provided guidance for it, promoting its continuous development. Inspired by Yumen's example, a number of factories and mines in the sectors of industry and communications, national defense and capital construction set up their own farms. Yet, taking the province as a whole, their number was still small. In 1966 Chairman Mao issued the brilliant "7 May Directive," which went a long way in encouraging the initiative

of the broad masses of workers on the industrial front to go in for agricultural and sideline production in a big way. As a result, this new socialist thing grew up sturdily--from a few points to the entire area, from small to big. Today, 80 percent of the factories and mines in the province have established agricultural and sideline production bases, which together cover more than 200,000 mou of cultivated land. In 1976 they produced a total of 60 million catties of grain, apart from large quantities of nonstaple foodstuffs such as oil-bearing crops, vegetables, fruits and various types of meat. Dependents of agricultural households who moved into the farms have achieved self-sufficiency in grain, edible oil, meat and vegetables. In some enterprises the workers have attained self-sufficiency or near self-sufficiency in their daily grain rations or have had their own reserves.

There are a number of forms for running agricultural and sideline production. Farms are operated by state-owned enterprises and also by those under collective ownership. Farms operated by state-owned enterprises are divided into farms run by workers and those by dependents. Since large and medium-sized enterprises have more manpower and material resources and stronger leadership, normally each one of them runs one or several agricultural and sideline production bases. Some small factories and mines have inadequate manpower and material resources; in such cases, several enterprises jointly run a farm. With a view to centralizing leadership and facilitating management, some industrial bureaus have combined several enterprises in the vicinity to run a farm, also with good results. Some factories and mines far away from the cities combined the construction of production bases and livelihood bases, striving to develop on the model of new-type industrial and mining zones in which "industry is integrated with agriculture, urban areas are integrated with rural areas, in such a way as to benefit production and facilitate livelihood." As for factories located in the cities, they look for cultivable land outside the urban areas to open up agricultural and sideline production bases and also utilize vacant spaces in the factory areas to grow grain and vegetables and to plant trees to beautify the environment and change the urban outlook. Mobile units carrying out geological prospecting and building engineering projects, while setting up relatively stable agricultural and sideline production bases, also look for vacant spaces around their worksites or put wasteland to the plow, thus continuing their efforts to produce farm and subsidiary products.

The practice of industrial and mining enterprises in our province running agricultural and sideline production enables us to realize that doing this can bring about many benefits and can be profound in effect and far-reaching in significance.

The development by industrial and mining enterprises of agricultural and sideline production in a big way can create still more wealth for the country and accelerate the development of the national economy. This is

one of the important measures to implement the general policy of developing the national economy with /"agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor,"/ and to enforce the great strategic plan of /"being prepared against war, being prepared against natural disasters, and doing everything for the people."/ Agriculture is the foundation of the national economy, and grain is the foundation of the foundation. No matter what we do--running industry or communications, building national defenses, undertaking capital construction or developing science and technology, it won't do without grain. When a bumper farm harvest is reaped, industry will develop fast; when agriculture does not grow, neither can industry. This point has not been lost on the vast number of party members and the masses of people in our province. Therefore, not only agricultural departments but also industrial departments must develop agriculture and produce grain on a large scale.

At the same time, there is a need to bring the role of industry as the leading factor into full play in actively assisting agriculture. Preparations against war and natural disasters must not be taken as the business of agricultural departments and commune members alone, for they are also an important task of industrial departments and their workers. If industry develops some agriculture and reserves some grain produced in normal times, this may make it possible to tide over the difficulties when natural disasters strike and to assist war when it comes. When a number of areas of Kansu were ravaged by natural disasters in 1972, the Yumen Petroleum Administrative Bureau alone came to the rescue of the stricken areas by supplying them with 4 million catties of grain out of its reserves. Also, if industry develops agriculture and opens up wasteland for the plow in a planned manner, this will make it possible to enlarge the area of cultivated land across the country. Since the industrial and communications systems under provincial jurisdiction in Kansu began to develop agricultural and sideline production in a big way, some 150,000 mou of wasteland have been reclaimed. In some enterprises, workers and their dependents already have one mou of cultivated land per person. This is a requirement for the development of the national economy at present, which will create happiness for future generations.

If industrial and mining enterprises go in for agricultural and sideline production in a big way and use their own grain and food products to improve the livelihood of the workers and solve their practical problems, this will make it possible not only to reduce the burden of the state but also to facilitate the development of industrial production. Supplies of foodstuffs for many large enterprises in our province often have to be delivered from outside areas over a long distance. Not only does this put communications and transportation under heavy pressure and increase the burden of the state, but the workers cannot be provided with fresh vegetables and foodstuffs. After agricultural and sideline production is developed, the initiative for improving the livelihood of the workers can be seized. This also makes it possible to gradually solve the problem of a number of workers who have been separated from their

dependents for a long time and enables a number of low-paid workers to increase their family incomes.

The comrades of Yumen rightly say: "Whether or not to develop agricultural and sideline production is a matter involving the personal interests of millions of people, a matter bearing on whether we have the mass viewpoint and show concern for the livelihood of the masses, a matter of feeling and attitude." When the workers solve the difficult problems which actually exist and relieve themselves of their worries, so that they can concentrate their energies on grasping revolution and promoting production, it is possible to push forward industrial production at a faster rate. Meanwhile, when workers through their participation in farm labor come to understand rural conditions, remember the peasants and do not detach themselves from agriculture while being engaged in industry, they may better establish the concept of assisting agriculture, draw themselves closer to the peasants, and strengthen the worker-peasant alliance. Organizing the large number of dependents so that everyone can live within the collective will benefit the revolutionization of the ranks of workers and their dependents and enable dependents to turn from being consumers into producers and thus constitute an important force for building socialism. This will change the past situation: "When workers enter a factory, their dependents enter a city"; when an enterprise was built, a city emerged, resulting in overconcentrated urban population.

For industrial and mining enterprises to go in for agricultural and sideline production and for industry to be gradually integrated with agriculture and urban areas with rural areas--this represents our direction of advance, fostering the communist seeds of infinite vitality and tremendous superiority. When dealing with the great ideal of communism, the teachers of revolution, Marx and Engels, said: After the proletariat's seizure of political power, it was necessary to achieve /"combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries and gradual abolition of the distinction between town and country."/ ("Communist Manifesto," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 273) In 1918, in his "Draft Program of the Russian Communist Party (B)," Lenin pointed out: To remove the antagonism between town and country, it is /"necessary to draw, extensively and in a planned way, industrial workers into participation in communist construction in the agricultural sector."/ ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol III, p 770) Inheriting and developing the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao proposed that in a gradual and orderly fashion a large commune composed of workers, peasants, traders, students and soldiers should be formed and made the basic unit of Chinese society. In his brilliant "7 May Directive," he laid down for us a grand blueprint for advancing to communism. The realization of communism will require conditions, both material and spiritual; these conditions, however, cannot be created overnight but must be gradually achieved in the course of advance to communism. We must now begin to create, step by step, material and spiritual conditions for the realization of communism.

To organize the workers and their dependents to go in for agricultural and sideline production in a big way and to criticize the bourgeoisie in accordance with Chairman Mao's "7 May Directive"--this is a practical step to achieve the great ideal of communism. Vice Chairman Yeh has said: In learning from Ta-ch'ing and Ta-chai, "we must learn not only from what they are now but also from what they will look like tomorrow. From Ta-ch'ing and Ta-chai we must see the direction of our advance." When industrial and mining enterprises go in for agricultural and sideline production, when those who are engaged in industry develop some agriculture and those who are engaged in agriculture develop some industry, and when industrial workers also engage in farming and peasants also work on the bench, this will break the old, narrow confines of division of labor that restricted people to a certain trade or job and will enable people to gradually become communist new people with all-round development.

II

It has not been smooth sailing for industrial and mining enterprises in our province to develop agricultural and sideline production from nothing to the present scale. For the past decade and more, we have experienced violent struggles between the two classes, two lines and two ideologies, and we have had both positive experiences and negative lessons. When the first group of agricultural and sideline production bases was set up in 1959, some people shook their heads, saying that it was "quite irregular" for industry to go in for agriculture and that using the state's wage funds to till the land was like "using shells to attack mosquitoes." What they meant was that the effort expended was great but the profit was unjustifiably small. What was the result? While those who went in for agriculture gained, those who did not do so suffered. In the 3 years from 1960 to 1962, Yumen produced more than 3 million catties of grain and over 39 million catties of vegetables. During the period in which the national economy was beset with temporary difficulties, it supplemented the diet of its workers with some grain and foodstuffs produced from its own farms. This boosted the morale of the workers, assured the development of industrial production and resisted the "wind of getting off the horse" whipped up by Liu Shao-ch'i. The 39th company, which was adjacent to Yumen, did not develop agricultural and sideline production. It was placed in a passive position once it ran into difficulties, and its industrial production was also adversely affected. The sharp contrast between the one which developed agricultural and sideline production and the other which did not do so greatly educated us.

In the course of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, many units implemented Chairman Mao's "7 May Directive," learned from Ta-ch'ing's experience and attained new heights in developing agricultural and sideline production in a big way. At this time, Lin Piao and company proceeded to harass them and sabotage their effort, doing the utmost to spread the fallacy that "for factories and mines to grow crops isn't the

way of doing things." Some comrades who did not radically solve the problem of understanding the need for industry to work on farming also held the view that industrial production was all that mattered and that going in for agricultural and sideline production didn't matter much. There were also some who regarded agricultural and sideline production as a "temporary measure" or "expedient," maintaining that such production could be carried out during difficult times but might be suspended when life improved. Therefore, the moment the erroneous line interfered, they wavered, became halfhearted in working on this matter and did it off and on. With a view to solving the problem of understanding the need for industry to develop farming, we held an on-the-spot meeting at Yumen at which we conducted extensive discussions of such questions as whether farming by industry was "an irregular occupation" or a pioneering revolutionary endeavor, whether it was "an extra burden" or an indispensable task, "an expedient" or a long-term plan. In the light of Chairman Mao's directive, the participants learned from Ta-ch'ing, looked at Yumen, and compared themselves with it. Finding their own shortcomings, they enhanced their understanding and strengthened their confidence and determination to take the "7 May" road.

In recent years the "gang of four" maliciously attacked and opposed industrial and mining enterprises' going in for agricultural and sideline production. They charged that Ta-ch'ing's integration of industry and agriculture was "practicing phony communism," alleging that "for one to work in industry and agriculture simultaneously is something for communism in the future, and it serves no purpose to mention it now." They vainly attempted to negate the "7 May" road charted by Chairman Mao. The fallacies of the "gang of four" produced a pernicious influence which spread far and wide. However, as the broad masses of workers and their dependents saw the direction accurately and were deeply convinced of the correctness of Chairman Mao's directive, their determination to take the "7 May" road was not shaken, nor were their efforts in agricultural and sideline production relaxed. Their farms operated with better and better results and registered increases in output year after year. As practice tells us, the struggle is very violent on the question of whether it is necessary for industrial and mining enterprises to go in for agricultural and sideline production. If problems of understanding and of line are not properly solved, such endeavors cannot be started, and even if started, cannot be sustained. Only by persistently fighting revisionism and removing all kinds of interference is it possible to establish the direction clearly and make a real success of endeavors.

To make a success of agricultural and sideline production, industrial and mining enterprises must also learn from Ta-chai's experience, vigorously criticize both revisionism and capitalism, practice socialism in a big way, resolutely resist the corrosion of spontaneous capitalist influences, and oppose the use of agricultural and sideline products for undesirable practices. They must implement the policy of /"taking grain as the key link for all-round development"/, develop diversified

undertakings, pay attention to economic accounting, lower costs, increase public accumulation, and continually raise the level of agricultural and sideline production. They must draw up overall plans, practice scientific farming, undertake farmland capital construction on a large scale, and strive to march toward mechanization and modernization.

Improving the agricultural and sideline production of enterprises is a component part of the whole party's going in for agriculture in a big way. Party committees of enterprises must strengthen their leadership over this, while local party committees must also give their active support. Leaders of factories and mines at all levels should place agricultural and sideline production on the daily business agenda, with the No 1 and No 2 leaders personally taking part in labor and going to the farms to solve problems. In our province those industrial and mining enterprises that have done a good job in agricultural and sideline production have one common characteristic: their party committees have earnestly provided strong leadership. The party committees of Yumen, the Lanchow refinery, and some factories and mines in the metallurgical, machine-building, and construction systems have combined learning from Ta-ch'ing with learning from Ta-chai and the building of Ta-ch'ing-type enterprises with building Ta-chai-type farms, arranging for industrial production simultaneously with arranging for agricultural production, doing research on industrial production simultaneously with doing research on agricultural production, checking on industrial production simultaneously with checking on agricultural production, and evaluating and comparing advanced industrial units simultaneously with evaluating and comparing advanced agricultural units. In this way, with industry leading agriculture and agriculture promoting industry, agricultural and sideline production has been carried out successfully, while industrial production has also increased rapidly.

Merely solving the issue of leadership in the enterprises is not enough, and the provincial party committee and competent departments at the provincial level must also provide stronger leadership over this work. In past years the leading comrades of the party Central Committee and the State Council have placed high value on the development of agricultural and sideline production by industrial and mining enterprises and have laid down many important directives. Various ministries and commissions of the State Council, particularly responsible comrades of ministries in charge of petrochemical and metallurgical operations, coal extraction, and so forth and of the State General Bureau of Labor, have tightly grasped this work, constantly supervising and checking it and giving it concrete guidance. This has greatly enlightened and educated us. The provincial party committee has held all sorts of conferences at one time and another to make an exclusive study of this matter, which comes under examination several times each year. Related party committees, offices, bureaus and industrial and mining enterprises have set up special organs to look after this concern and have assigned full-time cadres to them. With this work properly supervised at the

top and done in a responsible manner below, organizational leadership has been provided from top to bottom. This has given an impetus to the development of this work.

III

Setting the line in the correct position, establishing the direction clearly and strengthening leadership--this is the most basic guarantee for industrial and mining enterprises to make a success of agricultural and sideline production. However, to put the correct line into practice still requires that we exert huge efforts and resolve a string of concrete problems in accordance with party policies.

First, the problem of land. Growing crops requires land. Where does land come from? Should it come from wasteland reclaimed by one's own labor, or should it be taken from the peasants in the name of cooperation? These are two different methods of work which will produce two different kinds of results. When some factories and mines in our province began to develop agricultural and sideline production, they wanted to take the shortcut and expend less effort, to eat readymade meals, so to speak. They tried by various means to get some idle land from nearby communes and brigades. When a dry spell occurred they often quarreled with the communes and brigades over the use of water. Moreover, once the land was taken back by the communes and brigades due to an increase in the rural population, they were unable to go on with their agricultural and sideline production. Later they learned their lesson and, displaying the hard pioneering spirit, blasted mountains, filled gullies, and built terraced fields by diverting water up to the hills. If they were located near a river, they made farmland out of silted land by erecting dams. Those that were located in the Gobi Desert transformed the desert and put wasteland under the plow. In conjunction with tree planting, some factories and mines made use of waste mountains and deserts and built forests around the mining zones. In 1970 the provincial party committee organized a number of enterprises and units under provincial jurisdiction in the Lanchow area to send people to Chingtaichuan, 340 li away, to construct large irrigation projects. They opened up more than 80,000 mou of wasteland there and set up more than 60 farms at one time. By these methods many industrial and mining enterprises not only solved their problem of land but also assisted the communes and brigades in sinking wells, building ditches and creating land, thus enlarging the cultivated acreage and strengthening the ties between workers and peasants.

Second, the problem of capital and equipment. A certain amount of money is required for developing agricultural and sideline production. Where does this money come from? Should it come from the state in the form of investment, or should it be provided by the enterprises through the practice of economy and the tapping of potentials? This is a question of what spirit we should use to develop agricultural and sideline production.

In the spirit of building the country through diligence and thrift, relying on their own efforts and using simple equipment, many advanced units stored up industrial waste materials and used them as materials for their farms. They made their own machines, tools and devices with the odds and ends of old and waste materials, thus doing more things with less money and even doing things at no cost. The problem of capital and equipment was solved very satisfactorily. Some units, by fully tapping the potentialities of industrial equipment, worked out unified arrangements and put one machine to multiple use. On the condition of insuring normal industrial production, they took advantage of festivals and holidays and the time made available by the idleness of machines to engage in agricultural and sideline production, so they could avoid wasting any time for industrial and agricultural production.

Handling well the problem of capital for agriculture requires mutual support and consultation among various departments of an enterprise. The procedure for appropriation of capital must not be made too rigid, nor must capital be allowed to be squandered. In developing agricultural and sideline production, an account must be kept, but it must be kept in a lively and not rigid way, and in a big and not small way. Some comrades included the capital investment for the construction of the farm in the cost of agricultural and sideline production of that particular year and thus came to the conclusion that "the gain cannot offset the loss." This was obviously an irrational way of looking at things. If we do not look at it in a wider context, we shall fail to see the essence of the problem. The Chinchuan nonferrous metal company made the following calculations: If agricultural and sideline production were not developed, the supply of vegetables for the company's workers alone would require a state subsidy of 1.2 million yuan each year. If the problem of its workers and their dependents living in two separate places remained unsolved for a long time, over 6,000 persons would have to return home to visit their relatives each year; this would mean that 800 workers would be absent from work all year round. Calculated on the basis of the minimum labor productivity of the entire staff of this enterprise, it would mean an annual loss of 12 million yuan in wealth created for the state. On the other hand, a large sum of money would have to be expended by the state to defray the cost of visiting relatives. These calculations showed clearly that spending some money for agricultural and sideline production was, in effect, a great saving for the enterprise.

Third, the problem of conflict between industry and agriculture over available labor. Certain comrades are worried that carrying out agricultural and sideline production may affect industrial production. They say, "One den for one hen and one eye for one nail; if we then transfer labor force to agriculture, what can we do with industrial production?" As a matter of fact, there are great labor potentials in our existing enterprises, and if only we arouse the masses, problems can be solved. Many enterprises encourage the masses to come forward with

ideas and suggestions. They raise the slogan, "Let two persons do the work of three and one out of three be made available for the campaign." They squeeze out their labor force and guarantee agricultural and sideline production. The comrades at Yumen have also summed up the experiences of "two-fixings, substitutions on rotation, busy surprise attack, and joint mobilization." This means that the farms have a fixed number of leaders and backbone staff, that cadres and workers are replaced on a rotation basis, that surprise attack is to be made during spring sowing and summer harvesting, and that forces are to be concentrated for fighting battles of annihilation in carrying out farmland capital construction and accumulation and delivery of manure. Many industrial and mining enterprises in the province have rationally solved the problem of labor power by adopting the Yumen experiences. In addition, some enterprises have arranged that workers suffering from occupational diseases as a result of working in the mines or from coming into contact with toxic substances, as well as the old, weak, sick and crippled workers who have retired or been laid off, be sent to the farms so that they may take part in labor of which they are capable. This has not only solved the labor problem of the farms but also helped restore their health. Facts show that the adoption of these measures has not adversely affected industrial production but has promoted its development.

Fourth, the problem of remuneration for the labor of dependents. In the wake of the development of production and the increase in the degree of self-sufficiency, some industrial and mining enterprises have gradually arranged for a number of workers' dependents who have been living in separate places to be brought to their farms. This, however, has created a new problem: remuneration for the labor of dependents. At the beginning, due to inadequate experience, two tendencies appeared in some enterprises. One tendency was for the workers and their dependents to "work together," giving rise to the irrational phenomenon that "the workers till the land, the dependents eat the grain." This gave a number of dependents the idea of relying on others. The other tendency was to introduce separate accounting for agricultural and sideline production within the farms run by dependents, resulting in high income for those who engaged in sideline production and low income for those who engaged in agricultural production. This dampened the enthusiasm of dependents engaged in agricultural production. After a period of groping in the dark, most of the enterprises changed their original practices and separated the operation of farms run by workers from that of farms run by dependents. On farms run by dependents, collective ownership is introduced, accounting is kept independently, work points are recorded on the basis of performance, distribution is carried out according to work done, and agricultural and sideline production is managed on a unified basis. Dependents of urban households take part principally in sideline production and industrial labor of a subsidiary nature; at the same time they also take part in agricultural labor at regular intervals. Dependents of agricultural households take part principally in agricultural labor and at the same time also take part in sideline production

on the farms. Dependents of urban households and dependents of agricultural households join together in the distribution, receiving a fixed ration of grain and labor subsidies. In the matter of remuneration, recognition is accorded to the degree of technical skill and the difference in labor intensity, but excessive disparities in personal earnings are avoided. This has solved the contradictions and aroused the enthusiasm of the large number of workers' dependents in going in for agricultural and sideline production in a big way.

Although progress has been made in agricultural and sideline production in the industrial and mining enterprises of our province in the 11 years since the beginning of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, our experiences are still inadequate, and there are still many problems. Taking the province as a whole, such farms still are not widespread; there still are blank spots. Those units that have set up such farms are still confronted with this or that sort of problem in organizational leadership, operations and management, and so forth, resulting in high production costs and the inability to catch up with the output of some advanced communes and brigades nearby. A small number of units still have not entirely solved the problem of seeing the advantages. In particular, due to the interference and sabotage of the "gang of four," some enterprises still are faced with more serious problems with respect to agricultural and sideline production, and further adjustments are required through the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four."

Keeping to the "7 May" road and organizing workers and their dependents to go in for agricultural and sideline production in a big way is a great socialist undertaking with boundless prospects. In the current movement to learn from Ta-ch'ing in industry and build Ta-ch'ing-type enterprises on a universal scale, we must run agricultural and sideline production in a big way and practical manner--as an important aspect of upholding the socialist line in running industrial enterprises.

RAISE THE RED BANNER OF TA-CHAI, DRAW A NEW LANDSCAPE ON THE PLATEAU

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 5 Dec 77 pp 28-31

[Article by the Tibet Autonomous Region CCP Committee]

[Text] Spurred by the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and in the wake of the upsurge in the socialist transformation of agriculture and animal husbandry, the movement to learn from Ta-chai in agriculture in Tibet has gradually picked up momentum. In 1970 great leader and teacher Chairman Mao personally approved the "Directives of the CCP Central Committee on Tibet's Socialist Transformation." After 5 years of efforts, the Tibetan people in 1975 completed the great historical transformation with the establishment of people's communes throughout the region. This socialist revolution in production relations has offered great prospects for the learn-from-Ta-chai movement.

Before liberation the cruel and barbaric rule of feudalism long kept Tibet's agriculture and animal husbandry in a primitive state. Ignoring the people's suffering, a handful of despotic demons did everything they could to oppress the serfs so that they could live extravagantly. Agricultural production dropped to the lowest point, with the per-mou yield seldom exceeding 100 catties. In some cases, even the seeds could not be retrieved. The damage done to livestock breeding was also very serious. After the introduction of democratic reforms, both farming and livestock breeding have been revived, the change in their features being very pronounced. However, the climate on the Tibetan plateau is cold and dry, the frost-free period short and the land poor. The region is constantly ravaged by natural disasters such as frost, drought, windstorms, hailstones and snowstorms. Under these circumstances, it has been very difficult for small-scale production to radically transform the situation left behind by the old society--the loss of soil and water and the accumulation of sand and stones in uncultivable fields across the swampland and the "three-dimensional fields" suspended over the hillsides. Only by building up the socialist collective economy can people transform and harness the natural world. With the development of the collective economy, vast numbers of commune members responded to

Chairman Mao's call to /"learn from Ta-chai in agriculture"/ by unfolding the learn-from-Ta-chai mass movement. Displaying the lofty spirit of "the foolish old man who removed the mountains" and going all out in building socialism, they worked hard to change the physical features of the plateau. For the first time in its history, the region has gained an average annual increase of 8 percent in grain output since 1974, the year it basically achieved self-sufficiency in grain supply. Guided by Chairman Hua's strategic policy decision on grasping the key link in running the country well, the masses this year have overcome natural adversities, bringing in another bumper harvest in agriculture and livestock breeding despite unfavorable weather conditions. The region's total grain output this year was 66 percent higher than in 1970. The per-mou yield of grain in 15 counties surpassed the target set in the National Agricultural Development Program, with 5 counties doing even better than the target attained by regions south of the Yellow River and with an average per-capita yield of 1,000 catties in 12 counties calculated on the basis of the farming population in each county. In addition, there were examples of a bumper harvest with such things as per-mou yields of over 1,600 catties of winter wheat, of over 1,100 catties of barley and over 600 catties of rape. Livestock breeding has also shown yearly increases. The total number of animals this year was 17 percent higher than in 1970.

For the Tibetan people, the course of learning from Ta-chai in agriculture was fraught with contradictions and struggle. At the outset, learning from Ta-chai posed acute problems for the Tibetan plateau and the people there. The late introduction of democratic reforms and establishment of people's communes in Tibet, coupled with a bad climate on the plateau and other poor conditions, were reasons given by some people for not being able to learn from Ta-chai. This "theory that conditions decide everything" and the idea that Tibet is "special" fettered the minds of some people. To learn from Ta-chai well, this question of understanding must be solved first. Party committees at all levels made a serious effort to study Chairman Mao's directives on learning from Ta-chai in agriculture. They studied Ta-chai's important experiences and recognized the universal significance of unfolding the movement to learn from Ta-chai in agriculture, broadly and penetratingly propagating Ta-chai's orientation and its spirit, and creating revolutionary public opinion for learning from Ta-chai in a big way. At the same time they organized cadres and activists in groups to visit Ta-chai and study. Everybody was deeply impressed and educated by the Ta-chai people's revolutionary spirit and heroic accomplishments. Everybody was determined to exert himself and work hard. In 1972 the regional party committee cited the Liehmai people's commune in Lungtzu County as an advanced model in learning from Ta-chai in agriculture. It called upon the entire region to "learn from Ta-chai and surpass Liehmai," and this promoted the further development of the movement to learn from Ta-chai in agriculture. After solving the problem of learning from Ta-chai, the next step was how to learn from Ta-chai. At the outset,

some people settled for building terraced fields and digging irrigation canals and did not go further in learning from Ta-chai. To cope with this mentality, party committees at all levels, led by the regional party committee, organized vast numbers of cadres and the masses to earnestly study Ta-chai's basic experience. They realized that learning from Ta-chai in earnest called for acting the way the people of Ta-chai did, that is, adhering to Chairman Mao's teachings, taking class struggle as the key link, grasping the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and developing socialist farming and livestock breeding at an accelerated pace. This assured that learning from Ta-chai in agriculture would advance along the correct orientation.

A frontier region where the democratic revolution and socialist transformation were effected later than in other regions, Tibet underwent acute and complex struggles between the two classes and roads. A handful of class enemies there carried out sabotage activities and opposed the dictatorship of the proletariat. Resorting to machinations and taking advantage of religious superstition and clannish kinship and the force of habit of the small producer, they hoodwinked and benumbed the cadres and masses, even using sugar-coated bullets to win over and corrupt the cadres. They did this in a vain attempt to usurp leadership at the grassroots level and alter the nature of the people's commune. This caused a number of leading groups to pursue an incorrect ideological and political line and some communes and production brigades to exhibit serious capitalist tendencies. It gave rise to cases involving corruption, theft, speculation and profiteering which undermined the collective economy and socialism. This shows that in failing to take class struggle as the key link and to solve the principal contradiction between the two classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and between the socialist and capitalist roads, the learn-from-Ta-chai movement can in no way get off the ground. After the First National Conference on Learning From Ta-chai in Agriculture in 1975, the regional party committee resolutely responded to the CCP Central Committee's call requiring "the entire party to mobilize for farming in a big way and to strive to popularize Ta-chai-type counties." This resulted in the assembling of a large number of party, government and army cadres on the frontline. Living, eating and performing labor with the masses and conducting education in the party's basic line were responsible for quickly whipping up a new upsurge in the movement to learn from Ta-chai and to popularize Ta-chai-type counties. A few years ago the leading group of Tsetang commune in Naitung County pursued an incorrect orientation and line and slackened its efforts in the class struggle. As a result, capitalism spread unchecked. With people eager to work for money and extra income and their dissipation causing delays in farming, grain yields failed to rise. In 1976 the county party committee secretary personally led the cadres to stay at selected spots to conduct education in the party's basic line, to rectify the leading groups, to lift the lid off class struggle and to

criticize capitalist tendencies. Consequently, there were radical changes in that year. With people devoting themselves to farming and labor and animal power apportioned to respective channels, learning from Ta-chai and advancing in big strides was responsible for increasing the per-mou yield of grain from 315 to 513 catties. Forestry, livestock breeding and other sidelines also flourished.

To quickly achieve their conspiracy to usurp party and state power and restore capitalism, the "gang of four" desperately did everything they could to wreck the movement to learn from Ta-chai in agriculture and to popularize Ta-chai-type counties. They lost no time in stirring up wave after wave of counterrevolutionary evil wind in Tibet. Chih Chun, the gang's ace general, attacked Tibet for following an "incorrect line." He charged that "increasing the grain yield to 1,000 catties is also for the sake of revisionism and for the landlords." The "gang of four's" agents and pawns in Tibet also raised a clamor, denouncing the leadership at all levels for following the "theory of productive forces" and inciting the rounding up of the "capitalist roaders" at all levels. They shouted: "Don't engage in production for the erroneous line." They did this to undermine the drive to grasp revolution and promote production. With this development in mind, the regional party committee earnestly implemented the spirit of the First National Conference on Learning From Ta-chai in Agriculture. With vast numbers of cadres and masses making up their minds and working hard, they persisted in learning from Ta-chai and penetratingly conducted education in the party's basic line, plunging themselves into farmland and pastureland capital construction. In the struggle to counter the "gang of four's" interference and sabotage, they achieved new breakthroughs in learning from Ta-chai in agriculture and in popularizing Ta-chai-type counties. In October 1976 the party Central Committee headed by wise leader Chairman Hua, holding high Chairman Mao's great banner and carrying out his behests, smashed the "gang of four" with one blow. Subsequently it formulated the strategic policy decision on grasping the key link in running the country well and convened the Second National Conference on Learning From Ta-chai. Displaying the same jubilation as the emancipated serfs did, the people of Tibet plunged themselves into the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" with lofty political fervor. Closely linking with reality, they reckoned with the crimes committed by the "gang of four" in usurping party and state power and in opposing learning from Ta-chai. In the course of the struggle they spurred the learn-from-Ta-chai movement toward further flourishing development.

Revolution releases productive forces, while class struggle provides the powerful motive force for promoting the development of production. However, class struggle can in no way replace the struggle for production. Without applying tremendous efforts in grasping production, it is impossible for production to go up "naturally." Over the years, party committees at all levels in various forms of struggle made unceasing efforts to raise the masses' political awareness, whipping up a new upsurge in

changing the physical features of the land and in developing socialist agricultural production. The industrious and intelligent laboring people of Tibet are brave and tenacious. They suffered cruel oppression and exploitation in the old society. Cherishing Chairman Mao, the CCP and the socialist system, they possess enormous socialist enthusiasm. However, they were deluded and oppressed by serfdom in the past, so that some of the masses are still addicted to concepts such as the "mandate of heaven" and "divine right." The class enemies also used this to make trouble.

When harnessing the mountains and rivers was proposed, they would step in and say, "The divine mountains can in no way be removed, and the divine rivers must not be diverted." When wider planting of winter wheat was suggested, they would stop it on the grounds that "changing ancestral practices will offend the divine spirit." In some localities there were people who advocated chanting scriptures on the mountains during the busy farming season. In leading the masses to strike blows at the class enemy's sabotage activities, party committees at all levels made unceasing efforts to propagate the materialist concept that man will triumph over nature. In conducting this revolution in the ideological sphere, the masses were encouraged to gradually break away from the concept of the "heavenly mandate" and "divine right" so that they would be able to smash the spiritual chains that fettered them. This was aimed at accelerating the mass movement to undertake farmland and pastureland improvement projects in a big way and thus begin a new chapter in radically changing the plateau's production conditions for farming and livestock breeding. From the Himalayas to the Tangla Range and from the Chinsha River to the Ali tableland, a number of key engineering projects with relatively good results appeared. In areas where machines were lacking, many projects were built by the masses by sheer manual labor. To irrigate a few dozen or a hundred mou of land, people sometimes had to climb high mountains 5,000-6,000 meters above sea level to locate water sources and cut through rocks and cliffs to build a few dozen kilometers of irrigation canals. Lacking an adequate supply of machines, tools and explosives, the masses displayed a high dauntless spirit and great intelligence and were not discouraged by their limited knowledge of geological surveying and prospecting and related technologies. They used stones, first heated and then cooled, as a substitute for cement and stone slabs for steel sluice gates. The more they tackled their jobs, the better and keener they did them. Water conservation and farmland improvement projects were formerly built by communes and production brigades separately and were very small in scale. Such projects are now being built on a much larger scale through the cooperation of several communes working under an overall plan and with the participation of specialized teams and the promotion of mass movements on a regular basis throughout the year. Where desolation formerly prevailed, the land of our ancestors now presents a flourishing scene, with grain crops on swampland and trees covering denuded hillsides. By 1976 the region had built a million mou of terraced fields, garden-like fields and raised fields. More than

1.7 million mou of farmland and 1.6 million mou of pastures are now free from drought thanks to the construction of large numbers of canals, reservoirs and ponds. Learning from the advanced experience of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region has resulted in the large-scale construction of cattle pens and feeding grounds in the vast pastoral areas.

Scientific experiments and improvement of the farming system over the past years have contributed to the steady increase in grain production in the region. Prior to the introduction of democratic reforms, there were practically no winter crops. The region began growing winter wheat only a few years ago on an experimental basis. During the movement to learn from Ta-chai in agriculture, people liberated their thinking and broke down superstitions. This resulted in sowing and planting over larger areas than in past years. The winter crop now accounts for about one-fourth of the total area sown to grain, extending from river valleys about 3,000 meters above sea level to cold mountain areas at an altitude of more than 4,000 meters. The average output of winter wheat in the region has surpassed the target set in the National Agricultural Development Program, a bumper harvest model for winter wheat. The average per-mou yield of over 150,000 mou of winter wheat in the Shannan area in 1976 was 498 catties, a record in the region's history. This shows great prospects for the future development of farming on the plateau, apart from enhancing people's understanding, broadening their vision and arousing their enthusiasm for scientific farming. The cadres and the masses throughout the region are setting up agricultural and scientific research networks at four levels to promote seed cultivation, soil improvement, plant protection, farm implements innovation, livestock breeding and prevention of animal diseases.

In penetratingly developing the learn-from-Ta-chai movement, the key lies in strengthening party leadership. Making a success of farming and livestock breeding has been stressed in the tasks for the region. This was especially emphasized in 1970 at the agricultural conference for North China regions convened by the State Council. After the First National Conference on Learning From Ta-chai in Agriculture, greater stress has been placed over the years on the rectification of party committees and on adjusting the ideological and political line. In addition, more attention has been given to solving the problems of "becoming soft, slack and lazy." A great number of county and prefectural party secretaries and deputy secretaries, led by leading cadres, have gone to rural and pastoral communes to work and study with the peasants and herdsmen in farmland and pasture improvement projects. Due to the lack of communications facilities in the remote mountainous region, traveling from one commune to another sometimes takes several days on horseback. Despite the inconvenience of commuting in the largely inaccessible region, many cadres continue to adhere to the "1-2-3" labor system as practiced in Hsi-yang County. Over the years attention has also been given to grasping adjustment and the building of party branches. Apart from expelling a tiny minority of bad persons in the

course of building up leading groups at the grassroots level, attention has been given to educating and training cadres, assisting them to improve themselves and to strengthen their awareness of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is aimed at enhancing their ability to play a leading role in the socialist collective economy so that they will become pacesetters in the drive to criticize revisionism and capitalism and to practice socialism in a big way.

In their initial stages the learn-from-Ta-chai movement and the drive to popularize Ta-chai-type counties in Tibet were rather uneven in their development, and progress was not pronounced. Many problems and difficulties in work had to be overcome. Vast numbers of cadres and the masses in the region are now determined to adhere to Chairman Mao's teachings, /"striving to put on a regular basis the fine experience, fine style of work and fine methods gained from other departments, provinces, municipalities, districts and units."/ Let us strive to overcome arrogance and complacency and refrain from sticking to the beaten path, earnestly learning from fraternal districts their new experience, holding even higher the red banner of Ta-chai and building Tibet into an even more beautiful and prosperous land. Let us make contributions toward implementing Chairman Hua's and the party Central Committee's strategic policy decision on grasping the key link in running the country well, striving hard and working for the grand goal--the modernization of agriculture.

THE BRILLIANT SUNLIGHT OF MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT FOREVER ILLUMINATES
TSINGHUA UNIVERSITY

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 5 Dec 77 pp 32-37

[Article by the Tsinghua University CCP Committee]

[Text] The transmission of wise leader Chairman Hua's important instructions on the question of education and publication of the article "A Great Debate on the Education Front" by the mass criticism group of the Ministry of Education brought ferment to the Tsinghua campus. For many years the "two assessments" concocted by the "gang of four" stifled vast numbers of cadres and the masses in Tsinghua University, like two big rocks weighing down upon them. The party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua has completely discredited the reactionary "two assessments" and shattered the spiritual chains used by the "gang of four" to fetter people. Displaying the soaring spirit of fighting with vigor, the jubilant cadres and the masses are behind the unfolding struggle to completely expose and criticize the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary revisionist line and to thoroughly reckon with their reactionary "two assessments."

/Facts of History Brook No Distortion/

In early 1969 Chih Chun, the "gang of four's" ace fighter, introduced to Tsinghua University the theory of "the dictatorship of the black line" and the notion of "completely smashing" fabricated by Chiang Ch'ing in collusion with Lin Piao. He babbled that after liberation Tsinghua University "rabidly resisted and opposed Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and his proletarian line on education." This wrote off Tsinghua University in the 17 postliberation years.

In August 1970 Chih Chun again alleged that in the preceding 17 years Tsinghua University "was dominated by bourgeois intellectuals" and was "a hotbed of revisionism in the service of bourgeois dictatorship." Acting on Chang Ch'un-ch'iao's and Yao Wen-yuan's direct instructions, Chih Chun in the following year embodied these fallacies in the first

"assessment"--i.e., in the 17 years prior to the Great Cultural Revolution, "Chairman Mao's proletarian education line was basically not implemented at all" and "bourgeois dictatorship replaced proletarian dictatorship" on the education front.

This was a gross distortion of historical facts!

In the 17 years after the founding of new China, Tsinghua University was illuminated by the brilliant sunlight of Mao Tsetung Thought. During those 17 years, Chairman Mao's proletarian education line predominated, and the university forged ahead without interruption in the violent struggle between the two classes and lines. Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee showed great concern for Tsinghua University. He mentioned Tsinghua University over 20 times in his articles, works, speeches and directives.

In the early stages of liberation, with Chairman Mao's direct solicitude, Tsinghua University adhered to Chairman Mao's instruction, /"Systematically and carefully carry out the work of reforming old school education and old social culture."/ It eliminated the interference of the reactionary policy of "basically as usual" dished up by Liu Shao-ch'i, overcame the rightwing obstructions of bourgeois intellectuals, and introduced democratic reforms and measures for reorganizing and consolidating various colleges and departments. This transformed what was a semifeudal and semicolonial school into a polytechnic university of new China.

In the 1950's Chairman Mao initiated and personally led a series of criticism campaigns and struggles against the bourgeoisie on the political and ideological fronts. Positive results were achieved at Tsinghua University. Esteemed and beloved Premier Chou and Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping, then CCP secretary general, also showed keen concern for Tsinghua University's reform and development. Premier Chou visited the Tsinghua campus many times to offer guidance. Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping also was there in 1957 to give a report, criticizing in clear-cut terms reactionary bourgeois ideas at home and abroad and explaining the party line. During the rectification and antirightist struggle, Chairman Mao was very concerned about Tsinghua University. He sent his secretary to the school to convey his instructions on ways to score victories in its anti-rightist struggle. The seething revolution in the education movement was launched in 1958 under the guidance of the three red banners of the general line, the Great Leap Forward and the people's commune, and the party's educational policies formulated by Chairman Mao. Premier Chou's concern for Tsinghua University's educational revolution was expressed in his approval of the Miyun Reservoir project designed by the university's water conservation department. He also looked over reports and examined designs for reservoir and museum projects prepared by the teachers and students of Tsinghua University. He visited the exhibition on the educational revolution held in the university and gave many important instructions. Both Chairman Mao and Premier Chou affirmed

the achievements of the educational revolution conducted at Tsinghua University during that period.

In a conversation with foreign visitors in 1964, Chairman Mao stressed that Tsinghua University was running factories and was a polytechnic institute. He said it would not do if the students had only book knowledge and shunned labor. Premier Chou was particularly pleased to commend the efforts of Tsinghua University's teachers and students to combine education with production and study with labor in implementing the party's and Chairman Mao's educational policies. He urged them to always strive to forge ahead and make progress.

With Chairman Mao's and the party Central Committee's loving concern and guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, tremendous changes occurred in Tsinghua University in those 17 years. These changes were:

1. A leadership was continuously strengthened. The establishment of the party committee leadership system, strengthening of the party's ideological and political work and institution of regulations governing student work facilitated the gradual channeling of education toward serving proletarian politics. The vast number of teachers and students participated in the agrarian reform, suppression of counterrevolutionaries, the movement to resist the United States and aid Korea, the "three anti's" and "five anti's" campaigns and political movements to hit back at the bourgeois rightists, and the "four cleanups" in the rural areas. They were tempered in struggle and made unceasing efforts to transform their world outlook.
2. The university ran factories and introduced the new system of combining teaching, scientific experimentation and production. By 1964 it had set up 2 factories, 6 workshops and 89 laboratories, making it possible to closely integrate education with productive labor. As a result, the quality of teaching and the level of scientific research improved considerably. The Miyun Reservoir, designed by the teachers and students of the university's water conservation department in 1958, was completed. The engineering quality of the reservoir was found to be basically sound after it was in use for over a dozen years, particularly during strong earthquakes. A total of 117 key scientific research projects were completed from 1958 to 1966, with 30 projects having attained advanced domestic or international levels.
3. A great number of both Red and expert personnel was fostered. In the 24 preliberation years, Tsinghua University trained only some 2,500 students enrolled in various courses. The number rose to 38,000 in the 17 postliberation years. Prior to the Great Cultural Revolution, over 60 percent of the total student enrollment were children of workers, peasants and revolutionary cadres, with children of the exploiting classes accounting for less than 10 percent. The quality of graduates kept rising. An overwhelming majority of them played their roles on

every front and contributed their efforts. Many of them became the backbone in various spheres of endeavor.

4. Apart from making some significant progress in scale of development, the university built up a contingent of teachers that were both Red and expert and offered a number of new technical specialties. Before liberation, its school of engineering was staffed by only a little over 100 teachers. The number rose to over 2,400 prior to the Great Cultural Revolution, more than 40 percent being party members. A new type of socialist polytechnic university was making its debut.

In reviewing the history of those 17 years, Tsinghua University's vast numbers of teachers, students and staff deeply realized that, coupled with the interference and sabotage of Liu Shao-ch'i's counterrevolutionary revisionist line and such tendencies as being divorced from reality and labor and overlooking politics, which had appeared at different times and in differing degrees in the course of the university's development, many problems related to the educational revolution had to be solved. These included the long period of schooling, too many curricular subjects, poor methods of teaching, and tests aimed at antagonizing the students, problems sharply criticized by Chairman Mao in 1964. They must be dealt with in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings through continued efforts to penetratingly conduct the revolution in education. However, Tsinghua University's development in those 17 years was recognized by Chairman Mao, Premier Chou and the party Central Committee and received their concern. At the crucial moments in the university's development, when the bourgeoisie resisted and attacked, when Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line stood in the way and caused disruptions, or when problems arose from work, Chairman Mao, Premier Chou and the party Central Committee would give instructions and offer guidance in a timely way to clear obstacles and pave the way for its continued advance. The university owed its progress and achievements to the concern shown by Chairman Mao, Premier Chou and the party Central Committee, to the victory of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

Calling black white and confounding right and wrong, the "gang of four" and Chih Chun maligned the education front in the 17 years as the "dictatorship of the black line." This was aimed at writing off the concern shown by Chairman Mao and Premier Chou and their leadership over education work, at canceling the assiduous efforts of and substantial gains made by vast numbers of cadres and the masses on the education front in those 17 years, and at completely negating the great victory scored in the struggle led by Chairman Mao against Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line. Attacking the party leadership and disavowing the socialist system through rumormongering and the use of vile means in fact occurred in 1957. With an ulterior motive, a rightist element at Tsinghua University at that time shouted: "Chairman Mao's sunlight has not illuminated the Tsinghua campus." The "assessment" concocted by the "gang of four" and Chih Chun was no different from the outcry uttered by

the rightist element in 1957. However, facts are irrefutable. In those 17 years, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line always predominated, with the brilliant sunlight of Mao Tsetung Thought always illuminating the Tsinghua campus!

/Party's Policy on Intellectuals Brooks No Alteration/

The renegade Chiang Ch'ing yelled in April 1967 that in the 17 post-liberation years "more intellectuals than before are completely alienated from the workers, peasants and soldiers, divorced from proletarian politics and separated from production." Chih Chun, the "gang of four's" ace fighter, was in Tsinghua in 1968. He parroted Chiang Ch'ing and babbled that all the three categories of party and government cadres associated with Tsinghua University's administration, departments and teaching research seminars "are bourgeois intellectuals and form the basic force of the revisionist line in education pushed by Liu Shao-ch'i and his agents." The pernicious influence of Chiang Ch'ing's and Chih Chun's sinister remarks spread throughout the country with adverse effects, later becoming the basis of their second "assessment." They branded the vast number of revolutionary intellectuals as "bourgeois intellectuals," the "stinking ninth category" and "target of the revolution." Not satisfied with this, Chih Chun reviled those intellectuals fostered in the 17 years and said: "Except for not shouting 'Long live Generalissimo Chiang,' they are no different from those before liberation."

This amounted to wanton trampling upon the party's policy on intellectuals and shameless slandering of the vast number of intellectuals.

As everybody knows, Tsinghua University's teachers and students had a glorious revolutionary tradition during the period of the democratic revolution. A CCP branch was set up in that school toward the end of 1926. It was a cradle of the famed "29 January" student movement. After the victory of the war of resistance against Japan, the vast number of Tsinghua's teachers and students bravely struggled against American imperialism and the KMT reactionaries. Wen I-to banged the table and stood up, angrily facing the KMT pistol and refusing to yield to force. Chu Tsu-ch'ing, seriously ill, chose starvation rather than acceptance of American "relief rice." These were highly commended by Chairman Mao. On the eve of liberation, most of Tsinghua's students joined the CCP-led revolutionary student movement. An overwhelming majority of the faculty wanted revolution. Only a few followed the KMT to Taiwan. Some teachers preferred to remain in Tsinghua despite the KMT's efforts to provide them with airline tickets.

After liberation the intellectuals received every consideration from Chairman Mao, Premier Chou and the party Central Committee. In 1951 Chairman Mao initiated and personally led the ideological remolding of intellectuals. He said: /"Ideological remolding in the first place is

for intellectuals of all types. This is one of the important factors in our country in wholly effecting democratic reforms in all spheres and in gradually introducing industrialization. Therefore, we anticipate that this self-education and self-remolding movement will be able to make greater achievements in its steady advance."/

The report given by Premier Chou to the teachers of institutions of higher learning in both Peking and Tientsin greatly inspired and promoted the ideological transformation of intellectuals. In his brilliant 1957 works "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" and "Speech at the CCP National Conference on Propaganda Work," Chairman Mao comprehensively and systematically explained the party's policy on intellectuals. He imposed exacting demands on the vast number of intellectuals and pinned great hopes on them. In particular, what the teachers of Tsinghua University have not forgotten is the important directive Chairman Mao gave in 1958 concerning the erroneous understanding of certain young cadres in the university. He stressed the need to win over all the professors, lecturers, demonstrators and research personnel that could be won over to serve the cause of proletarian education, culture and science. Chairman Mao's brilliant directive fully embodied the party's policy on intellectuals, which emphasizes the role of intellectuals and encourages them to continue making progress.

Premier Chou set an example for us in implementing the party's policy on intellectuals. When he visited Tsinghua University in 1958, he was briefed on aspects of computer work. The comrade who made the summary report credited the students and workers with the achievement. Correcting this impression, Premier Chou said credit should go to the teachers, students and workers. He then exhorted those who were present to seek truth from facts in making remarks. Chairman Mao and Premier Chou were also concerned about Tsinghua's veteran teachers and asked about their ideological remolding and applications for party membership. In short, in the 17 years prior to the Great Cultural Revolution, the university's contingent of teachers was nurtured by the brilliant sunlight of Mao Tsetung Thought.

Only a small number of Tsinghua's teachers came from the old society, while an overwhelming majority received their training at our school after liberation. Generally speaking, few of them were conversant with Marxism-Leninism or adhered to the proletarian standpoint. However, after studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, participating in successive CCP-led political movements and through their own practical experience, they achieved progress in varying degrees in transforming their bourgeois world outlook and in assuming the proletarian world outlook. The facts show that in the 1957 antirightist struggle, during 3 years of temporary economic difficulties, in the struggle against the Soviet revisionist renegade clique and during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, an overwhelming majority of the teachers politically

acquitted themselves well or relatively well. Only a few opposed the party and socialism or acquitted themselves poorly.

On the one hand, the "gang of four" and Chih Chun recruited a handful of reactionary intellectuals and zealots with "horns on their heads and thorns on their bodies" so that they could be counted on in furthering the "gang of four's" conspiracies and intrigues, such as forming a sinister group associated with "Liang Hsiao" and establishing bourgeois factional networks. On the other hand, they looked upon the vast number of intellectuals as the "target of dictatorship." They did this in order to wantonly malign and persecute them and undermine the party's policy on intellectuals.

Comrade Liu Hsien-chou, first vice president and professor emeritus, was an example. He joined the 1911 revolution in his early years but refused to join the KMT despite the intimidation and coercion of the reactionaries. After liberation, he took an active part in the ideological remolding movement, gradually realizing that only the CCP and Chairman Mao could save China. He applied for CCP membership in 1935. Having joined the CCP, he conducted himself quite well. Before he passed away in 1975, he had assiduously studied Chairman Mao's works. His achievements and influence in the academic field were recognized.

Disregarding facts, Chih Chun and his associates branded Liu Hsien-chou and other comrades as "reactionary authorities," for a long time making no attempt to exonerate them. Chih Chun and company spared no efforts to malign and persecute those teachers fostered by our party after liberation. Many of them had done political and ideological work since they were students, carrying on with both political and professional work after becoming teachers. In those 17 years they made positive contributions to the development of Tsinghua University's educational revolution and scientific work, serving as the main force in the teachers' ranks. They are now around 40 years old, the right age for devoting themselves to the cause of the party and the revolution. Since they studied, worked, fought and matured in the preceding 17 years, they are familiar with the situation of class struggle and have contributed to the immense achievements made in those years. It is natural for them not to permit attempts to wholly negate those 17 years and to malign Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Serving as they did as a big stumbling block to the "two assessments" pushed by Chih Chun and his associates, they were regarded as a thorn in their flesh. Chih Chun and company not only branded them as "bourgeois intellectuals" but also maligned "party members and teachers around 40 years old as the most dangerous."

For many years Chih Chun and his associates tyrannized Tsinghua University, with the teaching staff bearing the brunt of their tyranny and becoming the victims of bludgeoning.

However, ruthless persecution only aroused stronger dissatisfaction and resistance, making the vast number of teachers cherish Chairman Mao and Premier Chou even more ardently. Cherishing deep feelings for the party, for Chairman Mao and Premier Chou, many teachers of Tsinghua University had met Chairman Mao and Premier Chou, whose loving exhortations were imprinted in the minds of the vast number of revolutionary teachers, students and staff who contributed their diligent labor to the achievements made by the university in the 17 years under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. This explains why the "gang of four" and Chih Chun encountered considerable resistance when they were pushing the "two assessments" on the Tsinghua campus. The vast number of revolutionary teachers, students and staff there never accepted the "two assessments" and consistently opposed them. Some comrades said angrily: The "two assessments" aside, even dozens more can in no way block the brilliant sunlight of Mao Tsetung Thought.

/Ultrarightist Nature Must Be Criticized/

After concocting the "two assessments," Chih Chun and company did everything possible to enforce them at Tsinghua University. In collusion with the "gang of four's" pawn in Liaoning, he issued the reactionary slogan "Work in opposition to the 17 years." What this meant was in fact working in opposition to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. For Tsinghua University, this was something particularly disastrous in its consequence.

In those 17 years Tsinghua was a socialist university. "Working in opposition," the "gang of four" tried in vain to radically alter the university's socialist nature and to turn it into a tool for usurping party and state power. In those 17 years Chairman Mao, Premier Chou and the party Central Committee watched the university with loving care. But the "gang of four" wanted to turn the school into a reactionary citadel for opposing Chairman Mao and opposing Premier Chou and Chairman Hua. They secretly set up points of contact at the university and clandestinely compiled sinister dossiers on dozens of leading party, government and army comrades at central and local levels. Using such sinister material, "Liang Hsiao" dished up sinister articles, with the reactionary film "Counterattack" deriving its theme from this material. They also used the university as a propaganda center to create counter-revolutionary public opinion in a big way. According to incomplete statistics, from December 1975 to September 1976 Chih Chun and his associates compiled and distributed as many as 300,000 copies of black-list material trumpeting the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary political program and maligning leading central comrades. These included "Excerpts of Views" and "Selections From Big-Character Posters." Over 112 articles and reports on Tsinghua University were published in newspapers and journals to spread their pernicious influence throughout the country and to cause great harm everywhere. Under the cover of running schools with open doors, they incited a few teachers and students to

intervene and foment trouble everywhere, "using 90 percent of their energy to ferret out capitalist roaders." By "working in opposition" in such fashion, a fine CCP-led socialist, polytechnic university would have become a school offering only one specialty--"fighting against the capitalist roaders"--and the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary tool for usurping party and state power. The consequence would have been unthinkable in the extreme.

Chih Chun and company also clamored they would use the "two assessments" as "an important prerequisite for formulating a series of policies and measures for the educational revolution." They did this in order to wreck teaching and scientific research. Thus, those 17 years of achievements and practical experiences gained by the masses in the educational revolution under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and those 17 years of effective systems and methods were wholly discarded by them as if they were "old conventions." Basic courses were discontinued, teaching seminars were disbanded, organizations for conducting scientific research were suspended, the political work system for students was abolished, laboratories ceased functioning and many installations and much equipment were destroyed. Even the three Marxist-Leninist theory courses, such as history of the CCP, philosophy and political economy, were branded "revisionist conventions."

Prior to the Great Cultural Revolution, several teachers and workers cooperated in carrying out with gratifying results a major technical innovative project regarding the application of synthetic ammonia equipment that achieved the existing advanced level. However, this project was undertaken "in the 17 years" and so it was condemned as "revisionist" by Chih Chun and company.

Flaunting the ensign of the educational revolution to undermine the revolution in education, they caused great confusion in teaching and scientific research. The students admitted in 1974 spent only 20 to 45 percent of their time on studying theory throughout their first year. The worker-peasant-soldier students failed to learn anything at all, and the quality of teaching dropped in all respects. This seriously disrupted socialist construction and held back the four modernizations.

Confusing the relations between the enemies and ourselves and upsetting the class alinement, Chih Chun and company protected, used and promoted those who resented the cause of socialism in the 17 years, who opposed Chairman Mao, Premier Chou and other leading central comrades, and who shouted: We must "completely crush" those people "in the 17 years." They recruited these persons as members of their counterrevolutionary factional networks. In dealing with the vast number of revolutionary cadres and the masses, they used the big stick of the "two assessments" to attack and suppress them.

Chih Chun and company conducted a "movement" every year, always making a great fuss over the "two assessments" in each campaign. Those who disapproved of the "two assessments" or merely indicated disagreement would be labeled "opponents of the Great Cultural Revolution." During the so-called 1973 movement "against the rightist backlash," hundreds of teachers were taken to task or forced to examine themselves. The "two assessments" thus became a "straitjacket" for the vast number of cadres and teachers. Whoever expressed even slight disagreement would be labeled and bludgeoned. As the Tsinghua campus was in the grip of white terror, the masses were in low spirits. They were furious but dared not speak up. When a railway worker from an old liberated area, the father of one of the teachers, saw the atrocities committed by Chih Chun and company at Tsinghua University, he said: "Let's go back to the old liberated area, my child. Leave this place. The leaders here don't look like the CCP and the Eighth Route Army. They resemble the KMT reactionaries. Let's go!" True, the object of the "gang of four" in clamoring for "working in opposition against the 17 years" was nothing but to restore the preliberation dark rule of the KMT reactionaries!

Facts show that the "two assessments" are in the interests of the reactionary classes, revealing those things which the landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements, rightists and old and new bourgeois elements dared not say. Pushing the "two assessments" was aimed at subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat, effecting "a change of dynasty" and restoring capitalism. It is rightist in nature. This protracted major polemic, an integral part of the struggle between Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the counterrevolutionary revisionist line pushed by the "gang of four" and Lin Piao, is a continuation of the protracted struggle between the vast number of revolutionary masses led by the CCP and the KMT reactionaries. It is a continuation of the proletarian struggle against the bourgeoisie. Significantly, this major polemic has gone beyond the scope of the education front. It has a bearing on the long-term plan for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing capitalist restoration. It has a bearing on the cardinal issue of survival and extinction for our party and our country, and we must therefore not take it lightly. At the same time we must also see that the "two assessments," like a knife that draws no blood, is capable of causing serious harm to people. Only by criticizing the "two assessments" and completely crushing the spiritual yoke imposed by the "gang of four" on the vast number of teachers and staff on the education front can we liberate our thinking and conduct the proletarian revolution in education in a big way.

A mass movement to penetratingly criticize the reactionary "two assessments," expose and repudiate the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary crimes and completely smash the bourgeois factional networks is now taking place at Tsinghua University. Led by the party Central Committee headed by wise leader Chairman Hua, the vast number of cadres and the masses are determined to comprehensively and accurately study and grasp

the system of Mao Tsetung Thought, conduct the third campaign to expose and criticize the "gang of four" well, grasp the key link in running the country well, make a success of the educational revolution, foster a large number of both Red and expert personnel for the sake of achieving the four modernizations, and strive to build a socialist Tsinghua University.

Let the brilliant sunlight of Mao Tsetung Thought always illuminate Tsinghua University!

EXPOSE THE 'GANG OF FOUR'S' POLITICAL FRAUD OF ASSESSING 'WATER MARGIN'

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 5 Dec 77 pp 38-42

[Article by the mass criticism group of the Tientsin Municipal CCP Committee]

[Text] In August 1975 great leader Chairman Mao made a pithy comment on the novel "Water Margin." He said: /"The merit of the book 'Water Margin' lies in its portrayal of capitulation. It serves as teaching material by negative example to make capitulationists known to all people."/ /"'Water Margin' is against corrupt officials only, but not the emperor. It excludes Chao Kai from the 108 persons. After Sung Chiang surrendered, he practiced revisionism, changing Chao Kai's Chamber for the Assembly of Justice into the Hall of Loyalty and Justice and getting ready to accept amnesty and enlistment. Sung Chiang's struggle against Kao Chiu was the struggle between one faction and another within the landlord class. After Sung Chiang surrendered, he set out to fight Fang La."/ How to correctly comprehend Chairman Mao's instruction and assess "Water Margin" became the focus of the sharp and violent struggle waged by the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao against the "gang of four."

In a meeting with foreign visitors, Vice Chairman Teng Hsiao-ping, who was then in charge of the day-to-day work of the Central Committee, explained the significance of the comment on "Water Margin." He dwelled on two major points: 1) For a long time there have been incorrect views regarding the assessment of this novel, a classical work with a far-reaching impact on China. As a work that to all intents and purposes preaches capitulationism, it is necessary that a clear assessment of it be made to the people. 2) There is immediate significance in assessing "Water Margin," but people should avoid viewing comments on "Water Margin" in isolation; they should view them from the entire historical period of socialism. At this stage, our main task is to criticize revisionism, which means capitulationism. Criticizing "Water Margin" is to criticize restoration of capitalism. This means criticism of capitulationism.

This remark by Vice Chairman Teng indicated the orientation for correctly implementing Chairman Mao's instructions on assessing "Water Margin." However, the "gang of four" did things in their own way. They wantonly distorted and altered Chairman Mao's instructions, playing tricks, fabricating frauds and shifting the assessment of "Water Margin" onto the track of usurping party and state power. This stirred up a wave of adverse current throughout the country in ferreting out "capitulationists" all the way from the central authorities to the localities. In the current struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four," we must distinguish right from wrong in line, reckon with their crimes in using the assessment of "Water Margin" to carry out antiparty activities and eliminate their pernicious influence.

I

The "gang of four" used the assessment of "Water Margin" to conspire and intrigue in a big way and to rabidly oppose the party. This was by no means accidental. Rather, it was a manifestation of the intensified struggle between the two classes and two lines at the time.

Toward the end of 1974 the "gang of four" conspired to form a cabinet. This was criticized by Chairman Mao and the plot was thwarted. The following year Chairman Mao on many occasions castigated the "gang of four" for going against the principle of "three dos and three don'ts," for practicing revisionism and causing splits and plotting criminal activities. Referring to the "gang of four's" problems, he explicitly said: /"What cannot be solved in the first half of the year should be solved in the second half; what cannot be solved this year should be solved next year; and what cannot be solved next year should be solved the year after."/

Chairman Mao's comment on the film "Pioneers" revealed to the people of the whole country the "gang of four's" despotic role and their anti-party conspiracy. This made the gang show their cloven hooves. Finding their position untenable, the "gang of four" found the going tough and moaned that they were "in a tight spot." Chiang Ch'ing cried that she had been "trapped in a cage for several months." Both Yao Wen-yuan and Wang Hung-wen sneaked back to Shanghai to "seek refuge." One of them tried to attend the "7 May Cadre School" by taking "public transportation," and another was "ready to slash with a knife." Sinister mastermind Chang Chun-ch'iao became so worried that he said he was "all set for decapitation." Like a pack of homeless dogs, they were restless and perturbed all day long. As Chairman Mao pointed out: /"When the representatives of all exploiting classes find themselves in a position of disadvantage, they often adopt the strategy of taking the offense as the best defense in order to assure their own survival and facilitate their future development."/ ("Preface and Editor's Notes to 'Material on the Counterrevolutionary Hu Feng Clique'")

The "gang of four" distorted Chairman Mao's instructions and on the pretext of making an assessment of "Water Margin" did things in their own way. They did this in order to free themselves from a tough spot and to adopt the counterrevolutionary strategy of taking the offense as a good defense. Therefore, less than 3 hours after Chairman Mao commented on "Water Margin," the "gang of four" immediately swung into action. Flaunting the banner of implementing Chairman Mao's instruction, they assembled their followers and agitated for action. Alien class element Yao Wen-yuan quickly produced what was called a digest of opinions and passed it on to the mass media under the gang's control as well as to the former mass criticism group of Peking and Tsinghua universities and the writing group of the former Shanghai Municipal Party Committee. He urged them to churn out sinister articles as quickly as possible and foster counterrevolutionary public opinion in a big way.

At the same time, Yao Wen-yuan wrote to the writing group of the former Shanghai Municipal Party Committee urging the writers in the gang's pay to concentrate their efforts on making an assessment of "Water Margin." Taking their cue, two of the gang's followers in the writing group jumped for joy and shouted: "Our imperial decree has come." Throughout the night they drew up plans for rapidly churning out sinister articles.

On the same night Yao Wen-yuan telephoned the gang's pawns in KWANGMING DAILY urging them to quickly produce a plan and prepare a report for him. The next day he instructed RED FLAG to get in touch with Liang Hsiao and Lo Ssu-ting as soon as possible so that the new issue of the journal would concentrate on making assessments of "Water Margin." He also required that publication of the journal be advanced several days, and he himself fixed the number of articles for the new issue.

Chih Chun, the gang's sinister ace fighter, and another tough woman fighter hastened to the mass criticism group of the two universities to convey the gang's instructions, namely: "Prepare a list of article titles and submit a report to the higher level as quickly as possible."

At that moment the "gang of four" and their followers appeared to have clutched a lifesaving straw. They moved out en masse and became extremely busy. After elaborate planning and extensive preparations, the KWANGMING DAILY, controlled by the "gang of four," struck first and fired the first shot against the proletariat. In rapid succession the "gang of four" set in motion all the propaganda machines they controlled. With the PEOPLE'S DAILY publishing editorials and RED FLAG carrying commentaries, assessing "Water Margin" was widely publicized as "yet another major struggle on our country's political and ideological fronts." A spate of sinister articles churned out by Liang Hsiao and Lo Ssu-ting appeared one after another to fill the mass media. This counterrevolutionary farce directed by the gang on the pretext of making an assessment of "Water Margin" thus made its debut amid great confusion. It came with such a crushing force and went over with such a bang as to strike people dumb.

Chairman Mao's comment on the novel "Water Margin" was not intended to promote a political campaign. With a sinister motive, the "gang of four" fomented trouble and turned assessing the novel into an over-riding political movement.

On 21 August Yao Wen-yuan sent for the gang's pawn in the KWANGMING DAILY and said: "Which comes first, 'Water Margin' or 'Pioneers'? I think assessing 'Water Margin' should come first." He tried in vain to use assessing the novel to counteract Chairman Mao's comments on "Pioneers" and to defy and challenge his criticism of the gang.

At the First National Conference on Learning From Ta-chai in Agriculture, held in September, the subject under discussion was the one endorsed by Chairman Mao: The whole country should learn from Ta-chai and popularize Ta-chai-type counties. However, at the meeting Chiang Ch'ing, with sinister intentions, spoke of assessing "Water Margin." She was scolded by Chairman Mao, who said: /"Nonsense, wide of the mark."/

At the same time, Yao Wen-yuan telephoned the gang's trusted follower at the PEOPLE'S DAILY, accusing the editorial department of "giving too much prominence" to the learn-from-Ta-chai drive and thus "diluting" the importance of assessing "Water Margin." The gang's confidant took the cue and acted according to Yao Wen-yuan's wish, namely: replacing reports on the learn-from-Ta-chai drive with articles assessing "Water Margin" and splashing them over PEOPLE'S DAILY's front and inside pages. Yao Wen-yuan even dared to omit from RED FLAG No 11 Comrade Hua Kuo-feng's report to the first learn-from-Ta-chai conference. Instead, he saw to it that the sinister article "Penetratingly Studying Theory in Light of Assessing 'Water Margin'"--an article dished up under his instructions--was inserted in the journal and published as a leading article. He did this in a vain attempt to suppress the learn-from-Ta-chai movement by making an assessment of "Water Margin." The "gang of four" used this assessment to carry out their antiparty conspiratorial activities and to extend the drive well into 1976. This blatant move became an important part of their attempt to usurp the supreme leadership of the party and state.

II

In pushing their counterrevolutionary political program on the pretext of assessing "Water Margin," the "gang of four" concocted the so-called fallacy of "Sung Chiang's effort to make Chao Kai a figurehead." Once this theory was advanced, it pervaded the articles churned out by them to assess "Water Margin." This demonstrated in a concentrated way their wild ambitions to fabricate a fraud and ferret out "capitulationists" everywhere.

The credit for the "theory of making Chao Kai a figurehead" should go to Yao Wen-yuan. He developed this reactionary viewpoint from a letter he

wrote and in which he referred to the fact that "Sung Chiang excluded Chao Kai in order to meet the needs of capitulation."

Chiang Ch'ing put it more bluntly, for she came straight to the "vital" part. In the latter part of August she told the gang's trusted follower in the Ministry of Culture: "The crucial point of assessing 'Water Margin' is to make Chao Kai a figurehead." When she was attending the first learn-from-Ta-chai conference in September, she again trumpeted this reactionary fallacy that Sung Chiang "schemingly tried to exclude Chao Kai and make him a figurehead." She alleged that once Sung Chiang "came to power, he quickly assembled a sinister following to oust Chao Kai and make him a figurehead."

Later, when Yao Wen-yuan was revising an article published in the 1976 RED FLAG No 1, entitled "On the Immediate Significance of Assessing 'Water Margin,'" he inserted a sinister passage which elaborated on the "figurehead theory" in relation to the question of leadership. He said: "In his comment on 'Water Margin,' Chairman Mao stressed in particular the importance of leadership power. 'Excluding Chao Kai from the 108 persons' means that the revisionist Sung Chiang usurped the leadership and ousted the revolutionary Chao Kai." After this fallacy had been repeatedly trumpeted by the "gang of four," it became the so-called "vital" part of assessing "Water Margin" and a big label for attacking and maligning leading central comrades on the pretext of assessing "Water Margin."

The "gang of four's" fallacy that "Sung Chiang made Chao Kai a figurehead" was aimed at grossly distorting and altering Chairman Mao's instruction. He pointed out: /"'Water Margin' is against corrupt officials only, but not the emperor. It excludes Chao Kai from the 108 persons."/ Here it is clear that it was the book "Water Margin," i.e., the author himself and not Sung Chiang, that excluded Chao Kai. This comment is fully in accord with the reality of the work. After Lin Chung clashed with Wang Lun, Chao Kai became the "chieftain of the mountain redoubt." It was under his leadership that the revolutionary cause of Liangshan began to flourish. Therefore, he deserved a place in the honor roll of Liangshan heroes. Yet the author of the novel excluded Chao Kai from the 108 persons, vainly trying to drop him from the honor roll of Liangshan heroes. This is a striking example of the novel extolling the capitulationist Sung Chiang and preaching capitulationism. The "gang of four" deliberately distorted Chairman Mao's instruction and interpreted exclusion of Chao Kai by the author of the novel as Sung Chiang's act. They did this in order to meet their counterrevolutionary needs of fabricating a political fraud and of attacking and framing leading central comrades.

The absurd "figurehead" theory dished up by the "gang of four" also revealed their ignorance and total disregard of the novel's actual delineations. The basis for this fallacy can be traced to a nonsensical

remark made by Chiang Ch'ing. She said that after Sung Chiang "went up the mountain stronghold he quickly made Chao Kai a figurehead. How did he do it? He tried every means to enlist Lu Chun-i, a big landlord in Hopei and opponent of Liangshanpo. He also enlisted a number of high officials, senior generals and military and civilian officials and installed them in leading posts at Liangshan."

All the evidence in books shows how irrelevant and absurd Chiang Ch'ing's remark was. When did Sung Chiang persuade Lu Chun-i to go to the mountain stronghold? According to chapter 60 of the novel, Chao Kai was shot by an arrow when he was attacking Tsengtoushih and died. Many days after his death, a wandering monk came to Liangshanpo and said to Sung Chiang: "Haven't you heard about the jade unicorn of Hopei, chieftain?" This reminded Sung Chiang of Lu Chun-i, nicknamed the jade unicorn, and prompted him, after consulting Wu Yung, to "induce him to join the brigands." This passage tells us that Chao Kai died before Lu Chun-i was enlisted, and that when Lu went up the mountain redoubt Chao was already enshrined and Sung Chiang "took the number one seat." Since Chao Kai was gone, making him a figurehead was unnecessary, and since Sung Chiang occupied the "dominant position," making a "figurehead" of Chao Kai was equally unnecessary. Wasn't it ridiculous to trumpet the idea that Sung Chiang's attempt to enlist Lu's support was to make a "figurehead" of Chao, who was already dead!

/"Despicable means reveal despicable aims."/ ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 466) The "gang of four" concocted the "figurehead" fallacy for the purpose of obliquely attacking people and facilitating their usurpation of party and state power. Chiang Ch'ing said hysterically in Ta-chai: "Sung Chiang made Chao Kai a figurehead. Is there anyone who tries to make Chairman Mao a figurehead? I think there is." She said this to attack Premier Chou, Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping and other leading central comrades and to accuse them of "trying to make Chairman Mao a figurehead." By 1976 they had removed all their disguises and stripped for battle.

The article by Peking University assessing "Water Margin," revised and approved by Yao Wen-yuan and released by NCNA on 30 May, accused Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping of being a "capitulationist of our time" and did everything possible to malign the "proletarian headquarters." This nakedly revealed their counterrevolutionary intentions to concoct the "figurehead" theory. Like a pack of rabid dogs, the "gang of four" pounced upon those who were in charge of the day-to-day work in the Central Committee and those who adhered to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. They first attacked Premier Chou and Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping. After Premier Chou passed away, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng became acting premier of the State Council. Then they directed the spearhead of their attacks against Comrade Hua.

On 28 February 1976 Liang Hsiao (using the pseudonym Kao Lu) contributed to the KWANGMING DAILY an antiparty article entitled "Once Sung Chiang Went up the Mountain, He ..." Making a great fuss over Sung Chiang's "ascending the mountain," the sinister article babbled: "Once he was up the mountain, Sung Chiang lost no time in creating splits, spreading rumors, deprecating Chao Kai and making him a figurehead." The allegation was based on the fact that "the moment he entered the Chamber for the Assembly of Justice, he was impatient to reverse the original seating order." "After the seating order was rearranged, only 9 persons were seated to the left of the principal seat while 27 persons were seated to the right to form a long row." Sung Chiang "in fact assumed the posture of being the leader of the majority faction on the right side." In this way Chao Kai was naturally "downgraded and made a figurehead."

In the sinister article Liang Hsiao picked up something here and there to make up a plot. He was not assessing the novel but attacking people in a roundabout way to vent the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary bitterness.

After Premier Chou passed away, the "gang of four" in their wishful thinking had these things in mind: have Wang Hung-wen take charge of the day-to-day work of the Central Committee and Chang Ch'un-ch'iao be premier. However, the appointment of Comrade Hua Kuo-feng to the acting premiership on the recommendations of Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee shattered the gang's fond dreams. In order to vent their grievances, the gang, dejected and crestfallen, dished up the above-mentioned sinister article. Citing Sung Chiang's "ascending the mountain" to obliquely attack Chairman Hua fully revealed the gang's hideous counterrevolutionary features.

The "gang of four" not only fabricated the "figurehead" theory to attack leading central comrades but also labeled people "the capitulationist Sung Chiang" so as to strike blows at and persecute the vast number of revolutionary cadres. In a PEOPLE'S DAILY editorial, Yao Wen-yuan inserted this passage: "Exactly like Sung Chiang of 'Water Margin,' representing the landlord class while serving in the contingent of peasant insurgents, the capitalist roaders carrying 'CCP membership cards' actually represent the new and old bourgeoisie inside and outside the party." Here Yao Wen-yuan used the words "exactly like" to equate the so-called "capitalist roaders" with the "capitulationist Sung Chiang." In this way the "gang of four" could freely label as "capitulationists" new and veteran cadres who adhered to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Under their provocation, a gust of evil wind to ferret out "capitulationists" and grab "living Sung Chiangs" was whipped up in many localities. One of the gang's confidants in Fukien shouted: "Let's find out whether the number one position in the provincial party committee has been occupied by big brother Sung." Another pawn of the "gang of four" in a certain province used the assumed name "Tu Sung"

[slaughter Sung] to express their avowed counterrevolutionary determination to slaughter all of the provincial party committee's responsible comrades. Amid the unsheathing of swords and saber-rattling, many cadres were persecuted or struck down by them for no reasons at all, while many localities and departments were disrupted. The facts show that in the campaign to assess "Water Margin" the "gang of four" tried in vain to use the drive to knock down a large number of leading party, government and army cadres to realize their fond dreams of effecting "a change of dynasty" and setting up a feudal, capitalist and revisionist hodgepodge of a "new heavenly state."

III

With an overbearing manner, the "gang of four" roamed everywhere in search of "contemporary capitulationists" so they could grab them. As a matter of fact, the "gang of four" themselves were the real capitulationists. In the great struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four," we have penetratingly realized that Chairman Mao's comment on "Water Margin" and his instruction /"to make the capitulationists known to all people"/ in fact provide us with a sharp weapon for exposing the true features of the "gang of four's" capitulationists and for penetratingly criticizing their counterrevolutionary revisionist line.

For a long time the "gang of four" had wildly extolled "Water Margin" and had done everything possible to embellish the capitulationist Sung Chiang, their frenzy rising higher and higher. Counterrevolutionary trumpeter Yao Wen-yuan pictured "Water Margin" as an "immortal" "work of art truly praising the laboring people." He babbled: "In terms of struggle tactics and strategy symbolized in vivid descriptions and in the demonstration of certain textbook roles in successful peasant movements, many revolutionary peasant leaders assimilated from 'Water Margin' experiences in carrying out armed struggles against the ruling class by the oppressed people in feudal times." Yao was in fact extolling the novel to the skies.

The careerist Chiang Ch'ing even prostrated herself before Sung Chiang. This self-proclaimed "Marxist-Leninist" up to February 1973 had placed a laurel on Sung Chiang, praising him as "an outstanding historical figure, a man of tact and presence of mind, one who had a sense of justice, was happy to rob the rich and bring succor to the poor. He knew how to unite people, and so he was esteemed by the masses. People called him 'timely rain.'" She recalled that when "Sung Chiang was driven to ascend the Liangshan, he led an uprising and resolutely struggled against the feudal ruling class. His great role should be fully affirmed." She was adulatory in the extreme. In addition, she went to great lengths to defend Sung Chiang for accepting the offer of amnesty and enlistment and surrendering to the imperial court. She said he did this because of "historical limitations" and to "meet the needs of resisting foreign foes." She was in fact brazenly advocating the renegade philosophy that "capitulation is justified."

What was especially serious is that after great leader Chairman Mao pointed out in the winter of 1973 that "Water Margin" "is against corrupt officials only, but not the emperor," the "gang of four" played a contrary tune and put up rabid resistance. Yao Wen-yuan went so far as to divide the novel into two parts, alleging that "the first half witnesses the triumph of the correct line." Thus he continued to praise the novel and embellish Sung Chiang.

On the eve of the publication of Chairman Mao's comment on "Water Margin," the gang's journal STUDY AND CRITICISM carried an article in praise of the novel. This perversion of truth regarding the assessment of "Water Margin" by the "gang of four" did much to confound right and wrong and produce very bad influences.

Chairman Mao's comment on the novel completely refuted the gang's fallacy. It was a big blow to them. Scared out of their wits, the "gang of four" quickly used Chairman Mao's comment on "Water Margin" to cover up their hideous deeds. They did this in order to use the great banner as a tiger skin to cover themselves and intimidate other people.

In a letter Yao Wen-yuan wrote: "On the basis of the material that I have come upon, of a great mass of commentaries prior to the Great Cultural Revolution, almost all contravened Lu Hsun's expositions, embellishing and even praising Sung Chiang's capitulationist line approved in 'Water Margin' but remaining unclear." At a Ta-chai mass rally, Chiang Ch'ing bellowed: "How repulsive! A handful of rotten eggs have sneaked into our ranks to applaud the book that embellishes the renegades."

By a stroke of his pen and mouthing a few words, Yao Wen-yuan and Chiang Ch'ing shifted onto other people the blame for applauding "Water Margin," with they themselves becoming the "heroes" in criticizing the novel. How extremely shameful they were. The rotten eggs who wormed their way into our ranks to extol "Water Margin" were in fact none other than the "gang of four" themselves. All this is known to everybody, and records of cases on file make it impossible for the gang to deny their crimes.

As like begets like, so like attracts like. The reason the "gang of four" extolled Sung Chiang is that they were of a kind. Back in the 1930's, according to available findings, Chang Chun-chiao was a Sung Chiang-type person, a termite who had wormed his way into the revolutionary ranks. Chiang Ch'ing gave herself up after she was arrested by KMT agents. Once she was set free, she prostrated herself before Chiang Kai-shek to beg for mercy and be at his beck and call. Yao Wen-yuan, favorite son of a capitulationist family, is a typical alien class element, a renegade to the laboring people. Wang Hung-wen is a rising bourgeois element sucking the blood of the toiling people. If it is said that Sung Chiang wormed his way into the "water-enclosed and

fog-bound redoubt" of the Liangshan peasant insurgents for the sake of betraying the revolutionary cause of the peasants and accepting the imperial court's offer of amnesty and enlistment so he could share honors with his wife and sons, then Wang, Chang, Chiang and Yao, typical representatives of the landlord and bourgeois classes inside the party, wormed their way into the revolutionary ranks to usurp party and state power in order to disrupt the revolutionary cause of the proletariat from within, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and recover the lost "paradise" of the landlord and bourgeois classes.

/"Sung Chiang surrendered to practice revisionism."/ Chairman Mao's penetrating revelation of the reactionary nature of the capitulationist Sung Chiang served as a pitiless whipping of all capitulationists. The "gang of four" pushed an ultrarightist revisionist line to restore capitalism and promote class capitulation in a big way throughout the country. Internationally, they worshipped foreign things and fawned upon foreigners, maintaining illicit relations with foreign countries and promoting national surrender in a big way. What they did has completely proved they are renegades of the proletariat, black sheep of the Chinese nation and dyed-in-the-wool capitulationists. By wildly distorting and altering Chairman Mao's comment on "Water Margin" and accusing people of being either a "living Sung Chiang" or a "capitulationist," the "gang of four" were simply calling a robber a policeman. However, /"all sly people, all those who do not have a scientific attitude in their work, fancy themselves resourceful and clever, but in fact they are most stupid and will come to no good."/ ("Rectify the Party's Style of Work") The fact is exactly so. The "gang of four" took advantage of assessing "Water Margin" to engage in intrigues and practice deceit. Instead of extricating themselves from the predicament, they ended up in a quandary. They plotted to shift the blame onto others, only to expose themselves. They wanted to topple other people, yet they themselves were completely struck down. Lifting a rock to let it fall on one's own foot, this is history's punishment of this bunch of "beasts with human faces."

WORK HARD TO CONTINUE THE REVOLUTION--INVESTIGATION REPORT ON THE LEADING GROUP OF A CERTAIN FLIGHT DIVISION OF THE AIR FORCE

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 5 Dec 77 pp 43-46

[Article by the investigation team of the Political Department of the Air Force]

[Text] Editor's Note: We are very pleased to recommend to everybody a model of hard struggle in continuing the revolution--the party committee of a certain flight division of the Air Force. They take the lead in study, work very hard, do not ask for special treatment in daily life and consciously resist all undesirable tendencies. This revolutionary spirit deserves study by leading groups at all levels. In his political report to the 11th party congress, Chairman Hua pointed out: "The 'gang of four' did cause heavy damage to our party's fine practice. Such bourgeois ways of doing things as alienation from the masses, falsifying records, watching which way the wind blows, engaging in speculation and playing tricks have infected our party. This must be firmly overcome and corrected."

In responding to Chairman Hua's call with practical action, the party committee of a certain flight division of the Air Force has halted the spread of evil bourgeois practices. It has upheld and carried forward the party's fine tradition and style of work personally approved and fostered by Chairman Mao. We should examine ourselves in comparison with their exemplary deeds, locate the discrepancies and quickly catch up with them, so that in the process of ideological revolutionization we are able to vastly improve our style of work.

As a battle-tested fighting unit with an outstanding record, a certain flight division of the Air Force was personally commended by Chairman Mao, who wrote these encouraging words: "Displaying bravery in battle is fine and very gratifying." In the wake of the great struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" and the broadly unfolding mass movement to learn from Lei Feng and the "Hardbone Sixth Company," the mental outlook of the entire division, from the higher to lower levels, has undergone great changes. In implementing the strategic policy decision on grasping the key link in running the country well, put forward by Chairman Hua, it has made superior contributions, becoming an advanced model of "achieving initial results in one year."

An important reason for achieving such fine results is that the division's leading group has worked hard to continue the revolution. As a result, it has passed stiff tests politically and ideologically, in work and in the way of doing things. With the approval of wise leader and commander Chairman Hua, the CCP's Military Commission recently commended this division's leading group and circulated its exemplary deeds throughout the armed forces.

Playing a Leading Role in Study

The party committee of this division attached great importance to the study of theory applicable to it. The members earnestly studied works by Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao and continuously raised their awareness of class and line struggle. They also struggled against the counter-revolutionary revisionist line espoused by Lin Piao and the "gang of four." At one time the Lin Piao antiparty clique assigned its sworn followers to this Air Force unit to apply pressure and to win the fighters over, but this attempt was repelled. When a sworn follower of the "gang of four" instructed people to incite antiparty and antiarmy disturbances in the unit, these were put down to maintain the unit's stability.

Following the publication of Volume V of the "Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung," the division's party committee took prompt action and saw to it that study of the volume was taken up in every form and without loss of time. Members of the party committee have thus far gone through the book once or twice. Adhering to the principle of integrating theory with reality in the course of study and penetratingly exposing and criticizing the "gang of four," they deepened their understanding of Chairman Mao's theory on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. They also cleared the confusion in thinking on the question of the relationship between politics and military affairs caused by the interference and sabotage of Lin Piao and the "gang of four."

On the basis of Chairman Mao's teaching, /"Before fighting a battle, conduct rigorous training and impose exacting demands,"/ they raised their understanding of combat readiness and military training to the

strategic level and adopted effective measures to strengthen the Air Force unit's combative power. The entire division this year has completed about a dozen new courses, with training intensity and difficulty of subjects greatly surpassing the scope of previous years. Moreover, the flight training target for the whole year was reached 2 months ahead of schedule.

After studying Chairman Mao's discourses on the building of party committees, they consciously upheld unity among "a squad of persons" and at fixed intervals held heart-to-heart sessions. At such gatherings they would bring up problems for all participants to discuss and conduct criticism and self-criticism. When one hard-working party committeeman exhibited signs of arrogance and complacency, the party committee lost no time in conducting an ideological struggle to help him raise his understanding and overcome his shortcomings. Party secretaries and their deputies care for and support one another and work in close coordination. They pay attention to giving play to the role of "a squad of people" in order to arouse everybody's enthusiasm, without doing things dogmatically or practicing "what I say goes." Instead, they respect each other and band themselves together. Although most of the division's leading comrades were formerly senior to the divisional commander, they respect and support him. In dealing with level-by-level administration, they always devise ways and means to get the work done. In the opinion of most party committeemen, working with this group brings one ease of mind.

Working Hard and Doing So With Fervor

The leading group of this flight division has consistently /maintained the same drive, the same revolutionary fervor and the same death-defying spirit displayed in the years of revolutionary wars in the past./ They often say that because Chairman Mao cared for them before and Chairman Hua trusts them now, they must work very hard and with all their drive to build up the army units.

Chao Yung-huan, the flight division's political commissar, is full of drive despite his advanced years. He often goes to the airfield to conduct investigation and study with company units there. He is familiar with conditions in the army units and able to identify all the battalion-level cadres and flight personnel in the division. He can even tell the dominant traits of each person. He has won everybody's confidence by the practical way he commends persons or criticizes them and handles problems.

Divisional commander Chang Huai-lien, a younger person full of vigor, is always available when and where difficulties abound. He is responsible for blazing new trails in the flight division's training program and plays a leading role in planning air combat exercises, personally conducting experiments to gain new experience. An alternate member of the Central Committee, he was away from his post to attend a meeting for more than 2 months this year, yet he has chalked up as many flying hours as other airmen.

A deputy divisional commander has been assigned to a regiment to conduct a night flying training course. He lives in the regiment, although his home is just around the corner. His devotion to work and his coordination of organization and direction, such as transmitting instructions and giving help to and guiding the less advanced, has promoted significant progress in the night flying training program in that regiment. Although several deputy political commissars are not in good health, they have managed to carry on their work for a long time. When one deputy political commissar was taken ill, he so often pressed his belly with his hand that a big hole appeared in his woolen underwear. Everybody was moved by this display of the death-defying spirit in making revolution.

From time to time the division's leading cadres go deep among their subordinate flight units to provide direct guidance. On the average, leading cadres above the rank of chief of staff or section chief have spent 5 to 8 months this year with the rank and file. During festivals and holidays the divisional commander and his deputy are present at the airfield by turns for guard duty, while the political commissars and other leading cadres offer help in the kitchens of the company units. The fighters say: "On holidays we take a rest, but the division's commanding officers are even busier than usual."

They take the lead in participating in collective productive labor. Due to the havoc played by natural adversities, the higher level last year approved the erection of an office building. When construction was in progress, the division's leading comrades bravely went to battle with the commanders and fighters. One deputy political commissar was examined by a doctor, who suspected the patient had stomach cancer. He continued to perform labor with the rest while he was home several days before being taken to a hospital. Praising the division's leading cadres for their active participation in collective productive labor, the fighters coined this catch phrase for them: "Erecting a tall building self-reliantly under the guidance of the division's commanding officers, we put up a floor every week by working very hard and with drive and ingenuity."

Make Way for Others in Daily Life

In daily life the leading group of this division has never alienated itself from the masses, always maintaining the fine tradition of plain living and hard struggle.

In 1975 they worked out concrete measures for carrying forward the glorious tradition of plain living and hard struggle and for resisting evil bourgeois practice. These were printed and distributed to the grassroots level to mobilize the masses in supervising the implementation of the measures. Over the past 2 years they succeeded in carrying out what they had pledged to do, i.e., refraining from regaling themselves or obtaining

more than necessary and frowning on the practice of doing things for selfish ends. They do not ask for special favors and privileges under different disguises.

Nowhere is the noble quality of the leading group of this division more strikingly demonstrated than on the question of housing. The living quarters of the division were all old premises built before liberation. Due to the rising number of dependents and the havoc caused by natural calamities, the living quarters became more and more crowded.

Under these circumstances, the division's leadership and the masses shared weal and woe. As with regimental and battalion-level cadres, each family occupied two rooms only, with the total floor space, including the corridor, amounting to some 33 square meters. There was no heating in the rooms. The divisional commander and the political commissar each have a family of seven. The political commissar's growing children sleep on bunk beds. When a visitor arrived, one of the children had to sleep on four chairs moved parallel to the bed so that the visitor could sleep.

As the building for the divisional headquarters was completed last year, the original offices with heating were converted into dormitories. Many people anticipated that the division's commanding officers would move in. However, the question of moving was discussed in earnest by the leading cadres. After unifying their understanding, these problems were discussed: 1) We are living in crowded quarters, but our condition is much better than the poor man Wang Kuo-fu's "hut" and compared with the years of the revolutionary wars. 2) Our quarters are less crowded than those in the lower floor for the cadres, and this prevents some army dependents from moving in.

So the division's party committee ruled that division-level leading cadres should stay where they were and that the quarters for other cadres would be adjusted according to a unified plan. Consequently, the housing problem for 52 army-attached dependents was solved, while the living quarters for 136 cadres were improved.

Later, five of the division's dormitories damaged by natural adversities were rebuilt and provided with heating facilities. When the relevant department suggested that the division's leading comrades move in, the latter said: "Normally the airmen have no time to look after their families, and their dependents are occupied with housework and with their children. It has become quite a heavy burden for them to bring several tons of coal for heating purposes up the stairs during the winter and then dump the cinders after the cold season is over." As a result, 30 dependents of the airmen moved into heated quarters.

After readjusting the living quarters several times, the division's leadership consistently made way for others, contented with living in

neglected premises and finding pleasure in doing so. They said: "If we move out and into spacious quarters, we will feel guilty. Although we live in congested quarters, we feel quite at ease." This noble practice of caring for the masses more than they do for themselves has won the praise of all the commanders and fighters of the division.

Unyielding in Principle

The leading group of this flight division is a combat collective for resisting and defying evil bourgeois practices. They are unyielding in adhering to principle and uncompromising in implementing party policies.

Early this year, some units followed the evil practice of "taking the back door" in enlisting in the army. In facing this evil practice, the division's party committee was clearcut in adhering to principle. It was firm in implementing Chairman Hua's instructions and refused to accept those who enlisted in the army by "taking the back door." The division's political commissar was attending a meeting at a higher level. When the matter was later referred to him, he flatly refused to accept them.

Once an old friend of a leading comrade of the division brought along his child, saying that a leading comrade at a higher level had already concurred. The higher-level comrade even telephoned later to ask for favors. Nevertheless, the division's party committee remained unyielding in principle. Finally, it persuaded the leading comrade's old friend to take his child home.

Another deputy political commissar was hospitalized after he was assigned to another locality. His former unit approached him to permit his boy, who was resettled in the countryside, to enlist in the army, saying that the necessary "procedures" had been completed. His wife also telephoned and brought up the matter. He flatly refused to do so, saying that the decision of the division's party committee must be carried out to the letter. His wife failed to straighten out her thinking. She asked the boy to call on his father. Through patient persuasion, the latter succeeded in sending the boy back to the countryside in good spirits. This is the way they repelled evil practices and combated selfishness and other nonproletarian notions.

Although six children of the division's leading cadres were resettled in the countryside, none of them ever tried to enlist in the army by "taking the back door." Not long ago the graduating children of the leading cadres were sent to the countryside. The action taken by the division's party committee won the warm support of the entire division, above and below. The cadres and fighters said approvingly: The actions taken by the leading cadres have not only upheld party principle but also enhanced the party committee's prestige.

THE RED FLAG FLIES ON YUEHWANGTAI--COMMEMORATING THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF
THE CANTON UPRISING

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 5 Dec 77 pp 47-51

[Article by Chu Hai [2612 3189]]

[Text] December 11 this year is the 50th anniversary of the Canton uprising.

On this day 5 decades ago, the workers, revolutionary soldiers and peasant masses in Canton, steeped in glorious revolutionary traditions and led by Comrades Chang Tai-lei, Su Chao-cheng, Yeh Ting, Yeh Chien-ying, Chou Wen-yung and Nieh Jung-chen, staged an armed uprising that shook China and the world. They set up in Canton a workers and peasants democratic regime led by the Chinese Communist Party. Coming as it did on the heels of the Nanchang and the Autumn Harvest uprisings, this salvo of guns on the coast of the South China Sea administered a powerful rebuff to the Kuomintang for its betrayal and massacre, demonstrating the strong determination of our party in leading the people of the whole country in waging armed struggle and unyieldingly carrying the revolution through to the end. On the occasion of the commemoration of the 30th anniversary of this uprising, Comrade Yeh Chien-ying used the verse "The Red Flag on Yuehwangtai" to warmly laud the heroic exploits of the insurgents in those years, who planted the red flag on the top of Canton's Yuehhsiushan Mountains. This uprising wrote a page of gallant sacrifice in the history of armed struggle waged by our party.

I

The Canton uprising was inspired by the Nanchang and Autumn Harvest uprisings. It was staged under the guidance of Mao Tsetung Thought and in the spirit of the party's "7 August" meeting. In the final stages of the first revolutionary civil war, the right-inclined opportunists within the party, represented by Chen Tu-hsiu, elected to abandon the leadership of the revolution, and especially the leadership over the armed forces. As a result, when Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Ching-wei successively betrayed

the revolution and massacred the communists and the worker and peasant masses on a large scale, the party and the people were unable to promptly organize effective resistance, and the first great revolution ended in failure due to surprise attacks by the reactionaries. Comrade Mao Tse-tung firmly opposed Chen Tu-hsiu's right capitulationist line and consistently emphasized the tremendous importance of holding the gun with a firm grip. After the "12 April" counterrevolutionary coup d'etat, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, upon making a profound Marxist analysis of the revolutionary situation, resolutely called for /taking up arms and defending the revolution with force./ On 7 August the CCP Central Committee convened an emergency meeting which, besides liquidating Chen Tu-hsiu's right opportunist line, resolved to launch armed uprisings in the four provinces of Hunan, Kwangtung, Kiangsi and Hupeh.

Kwangtung was the cradle of the Northern Expeditionary Army and was a place where Chairman Mao, Premier Chou and many proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation had worked. Chairman Mao's brilliant concept of using force against force in making revolution illuminated the direction of the development of the workers and peasants movement in Kwangtung. The revolutionary people had accumulated definite experiences of armed struggle from the battles of workers' picket teams and the peasant self-defense corps, and there were also some troops who were influenced by our party and the worker and peasant masses and imbued with revolutionary ideas. For this reason, conditions were more or less available for starting an armed uprising in Canton.

After Chiang Kai-shek betrayed the revolution, the warlords of the Kwangsi faction staged the "15 April" counterrevolutionary coup d'etat in Canton. They slaughtered the communists and the revolutionary masses on a large scale, closed the offices of the Canton-Hong Kong strike committee and deprived the workers of all the political and economic rights they had gained during the period of the great revolution. However, white terror did not scare the revolutionary people of Kwangtung out of their wits; instead, rallying around the party, they waged a series of struggles under extremely difficult conditions. In the half year before the uprising, general strikes and demonstrations by the workers in Canton developed into armed clashes with the reactionary troops and police. There were shouts of revolutionary slogans "Down with the Kuomintang" and "Long live the political power of workers, peasants and soldiers." Peasants throughout the province rose one after another in revolt, and workers and peasants democratic governments were set up successively in Hailufeng, Hainan Island and other places. To overthrow the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang through armed uprisings became the urgent demand of the revolutionary people in Kwangtung.

The growing contradictions among the KMT reactionaries weakened the ruling position of the reactionary warlords in Kwangtung. In the middle of November the new warlord, Chang Fa-kuei, backed by Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Ching-wei, used force to expel the warlords of the Kwangsi faction

from Canton. The latter, unreconciled to the loss of Kwangtung, massed two armies in Swatow and Wuchou in preparation for a pincer attack on Chang Fa-kuei. Chang was forced to transfer a large portion of his army to the front. A dog-bite-dog war among the warlords was about to erupt. Of the armed forces that remained in Canton, a part was controlled by our party, the rest consisted of three regiments, including an infantry and an artillery regiment, one battalion of the Guards Regiment, a number of Guards units of some military organs, and the police and public security forces, totaling more than 5,000 men, many of whom were new recruits. The enemy's military strength in Canton was relatively weak, and this presented an excellent opportunity for an armed uprising.

In the latter part of November Comrade Chang Tai-lei, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Provisional Central Committee of our party, was sent to Canton to become the secretary of the Kwangtung Provincial Committee and to set about organizing the Canton uprising. On 26 November a meeting of the Standing Committee of the provincial committee was held under Comrade Tai-lei's direction. It decided to unleash an armed uprising of workers, peasants and soldiers in Canton. This was immediately followed by the formation of a general headquarters for the uprising--the "Action Committee," with Comrade Tai-lei in general charge. In its manifesto calling for the uprising, the provincial committee clearly expressed the determination of our party to lead the revolutionary war singlehandedly and revealed the nature of the reactionaries to the masses. It pointed out that Chang Fa-kuei and the warlords of the Kwangsi faction were birds of a feather, that no illusions should be entertained about them, and that the only way out for the revolutionary people was to seize political power by force under the leadership of the Communist Party.

The first thing the "Action Committee" did was to actively carry out mobilization and organizational work among the workers. A five-man committee was set up to lead the workers' Red Guards in Canton. Comrade Chou Wen-yung, one of the responsible persons of the "Action Committee" and secretary of the Workers Committee of the Canton Municipal CCP Committee, was assigned to take general command of the Red Guards units. The workers' Red Guards units, originally organized on a district-by-district basis, were reorganized into seven joint units, with each joint unit divided into a number of groups, each of which had 90 members. In addition, there was an independent transportation unit and others. The total number was 3,000 people. Each group had a party representative. Each joint unit had an instructor and a political director. The joint unit leaders or staff officers were men with military knowledge. Comrade Hsu Hsiang-chien was leader of the No 6 joint unit. Meanwhile, apart from attaching special importance to mobilizing the peasant forces in the Canton suburbs, the provincial committee also notified the party organizations in various localities that they should actively prepare for armed riots by peasants in conjunction with the uprising in Canton. The peasant forces in Hailufeng were ordered to move in the direction of Huichou and await their opportunity to strike.

The 4th Military Instructors Regiment, led by Comrade Yeh Chien-ying, was the main-force unit of the Canton uprising. This regiment was made up of 1,300 cadets of the former Wuhan Military Academy. Most of them were revolutionary youths influenced by our party, and more than 200 of them were members of the Communist Party. When the regiment went south from Wuhan and arrived at Chiuchiang, it was disarmed by Chang Fa-kuei. This caused some people to waver. Thereupon, Comrade Yeh Chien-ying, commander of the regiment, worked on them, stabilizing the mood of the regiment. When the regiment reached northern Kwangtung, it learned of the failure of the forces of the Nanchang uprising. Some people again turned negative. Again, Comrade Yeh Chien-ying educated them patiently, and he finally brought the regiment to Canton, where he contacted the Military Committee of the Kwangtung Provincial Committee. A large part of the Guards Regiment and the espionage battalion of the Whampoa Military Academy were also under our party's control and influence. Then, through Comrade Yeh's connections, the party sent Comrade Tsai Sheng-hsi and other military cadres of the party to the Guards Regiment and also secretly sent to it a great number of striking workers in Canton and Hong Kong, thereby considerably boosting the military strength of the Guards Regiment.

On 7 December the "Action Committee" secretly convened a meeting of the Canton Workers Congress, which elected the executive members of the Canton Workers and Peasants Democratic Government, adopted the political program of that government and the concrete plans for the uprising, and reached the decision to stage the uprising on 13 December. The revolutionary soldiers and peasants also elected their executive members separately and jointly formed an Executive Committee of the Canton Workers and Peasants Democratic Government.

The revolutionary upsurge in Canton aroused the attention and fear of the imperialists and the KMT reactionaries. Wang Ching-wei, then in Shanghai, got word of our party's preparations for an uprising and on 9 December cabled Chang Fa-kuei asking him to disarm the Instructors Regiment, expel the Red Guards units and search the trade unions. Upon receiving the cable, Chang immediately proceeded to take repressive measures. On the 10th he proclaimed a special curfew in Canton and began to recall his troops from the front. At this crucial juncture the "Action Committee" recognized that if the enemy were allowed to strike first the revolutionary forces would inevitably be seriously undermined. Thereupon it took the prompt step of advancing the date of the uprising so as to grasp the initiative in armed struggle.

II

"The sound of gunfire rises with the sound of the horns at midnight." At 0330 on 11 December the workers, peasants and revolutionary soldiers in Canton, displaying a fearless, heroic spirit, staged the armed uprising, planting the red flag atop the Canton city gate.

The first shot was fired by the Instructors Regiment led by Comrade Yeh Chien-ying. At the crucial moment before the uprising erupted, Comrade Chang Tai-lei came to the Ssupiaoying, where the Instructors Regiment camped, and delivered a mobilization report to the revolutionary soldiers of the entire regiment. In his analysis of the situation of class struggle at the time, he pointed out that under the savage rule of the KMT reactionaries there was no other choice but for revolutionary soldiers to take up arms and fight shoulder to shoulder with the workers and peasants. The Instructors Regiment was then reorganized, with Communist Party members appointed commanders of battalions and companies. Most of the platoon and squad leaders were also party members. It fell to Comrade Yeh Ting to announce the combat dispositions for the uprising and the combat tasks of the various companies of the regiment. After putting to death a group of reactionary military officers, including the chief staff officer dispatched by Chang Fa-kuei, the fighters of the entire regiment immediately set out by separate routes and plunged into the fighting. One force directly commanded by Comrade Yeh Ting carried out a night raid on the enemy artillery regiment that camped at Yentang by the Sha River. It swiftly charged into the enemy camp and, in conjunction with a political offensive, overcame the resistance of more than 500 enemies and seized more than 20 artillery pieces and a large quantity of rifles. Another force, having disarmed the 600 persons of an enemy infantry regiment near the Ssupiaoying, drove into the city to join the attack on the Public Security Bureau building and other enemy strongholds.

The Guards Regiment, after arresting and executing the reactionary military officers, including the chief staff officer of the enemy, also joined the uprising. It was charged with the task of attacking such strongholds as the headquarters of the enemy's 4th Army and defending the area around Nanti. The workers Red Guards in the city, who lay in ambush in various places, charged toward the vital spots of the enemy upon hearing the signal--a series of gunshots fired by the Instructors Regiment. In a few hours, with the support of revolutionary soldiers, they smashed the resistance of more than 1,500 bogus police and public security men, captured the police stations in various districts and other strongholds and set free more than 2,000 communists and revolutionaries imprisoned by the KMT reactionaries.

On the night of the uprising the most bitter battle was fought during the attack on the Canton Municipal Public Security Bureau building. As the battle began, a death squad formed by workers of the Canton-Sanshui and Canton-Hankow railways charged forward from the No 1 park, where they had hidden in ambush, and pounced on the Public Security Bureau building. The No 1 Joint Red Guards Unit also attacked it from Huifu Road to the south and Huiai Road to the north. But the enemies, defending themselves behind solid walls and iron gates and with armored cars and machine guns, resisted stubbornly with superior firepower. At this critical moment, the 1st Battalion of the Instructors Regiment led by Comrade Yeh Chien-ying arrived, riding in trucks of the transportation

unit, and this immediately boosted morale at the scene. The revolutionary soldiers held off the enemy's firepower with machine guns and, in coordination with the Red Guards, approached the enemies from different directions along the walls. Several members of the death squad threw their grenades into the courtyards of the building as the revolutionary soldiers and Red Guards charged toward and smashed open the iron gates. This stubborn reactionary fortress was captured at last. Then they set up a military headquarters in the building, with Comrade Yeh Ting in overall charge, assisted by Comrade Yeh Chien-ying. They were joined by Comrade Nieh Jung-chen, secretary of the Military Committee of the Kwangtung Provincial CCP Committee.

Before dawn on the 11th, except for a small number of enemy strongholds, the insurgents had taken control of the urban areas north of the Pearl River. Canton became a Red revolutionary city. Huge red cloth streamers were hung across the streets throughout the city, with revolutionary slogans pasted up on streets and lanes. All people in the city, men and women, young and old, were jubilant over the victory of the uprising and rushed here and there to celebrate with each other. The singing of the "Internationale" and "Young Vanguard" reverberated throughout the city.

At 0600 the same day a huge red flag was hoisted on the roof of the former Public Security Bureau building. The Canton Workers and Peasants Democratic Government was established, with Comrade Chang Tai-lei as acting chairman pending the arrival of the chairman, Comrade Su Chao-cheng. Other members of the government included Peng Pai (with Comrade Chao Tzu-hsuan acting for him when Peng was still in Haifeng), Yeh Ting, Chou Wen-yung, Yun Tai-ying, Yang Yin, Chen Yu, and Ho Lai. All of them had fought shoulder to shoulder with the workers, peasants and soldiers in Kwangtung for many years; they were revolutionary activists ready to sacrifice their lives. Once established, the democratic government issued a declaration to the workers, peasants and soldiers of the whole nation and to the proletariat of the whole world. It proposed a clearcut internal and external political program calling for "all power to the soviet," "overthrow of Kuomintang reactionaries," "suppression of landlords and gentry," "overthrow of imperialism," "abolition of all unequal treaties," etc. It guaranteed the laboring people freedom of assembly, association, speech and publication. And it also worked out an 8-hour work system for the workers and laid down such provisions as giving all the land to the peasants and safeguarding the interests of workers and peasants.

As news of the establishment of the Workers and Peasants Democratic Government spread, it was greeted with action by peasant forces in the suburbs and various counties near the suburbs. Those in Nanhai stormed and captured Taliyu and then, together with the No 6 Joint Red Guards Unit, seized the Shihweitang railway station. A part of the peasant forces in Nanhai and Huahsien County moved into the city to join the fight after breaking through the blockade of the reactionaries. Peasants

in Chingyuan took the county seat the second day after the uprising started and cut off the rail links near Yuantan to block enemy reinforcements from the north. Peasant forces in Hailufeng also thrust westward in preparation for joining hands with the insurgents in Canton.

The moment the Workers and Peasants Democratic Government came into being, it took the decision to set up a Workers and Peasants Red Army, with Comrade Yeh Ting as the commander in chief. At its first meeting, held on the 11th, the government resolved to form a "voluntary revolutionary army" of 50,000 men within a few days. It planned to reorganize the Workers Red Guards in Canton, the Peasant Red Guard forces in Hailufeng, the Instructors Regiment and other units into three armies. Due to drastic changes in the situation, this resolution was not fully implemented. However, on the first day of the uprising more than 20,000 workers and students joined the insurgent ranks; about 8,000 of them received their weapons and took part in combat.

The Canton uprising, together with the Nanchang and Autumn Harvest uprisings, marked the beginning of our party's efforts to lead the revolutionary war independently and to create a people's army. Chairman Mao pointed out emphatically: /"This period was the most crucial period in which our party thoroughly recognized the importance of the army."/ If the Red Army had not been founded in this period, and were it not for the revolutionary war it conducted, the subsequent development of the Chinese revolution and its victory would have been unthinkable. In his poem lauding the Canton uprising, Comrade Chu Te said, "With political power seized, the masses were won over; the revolution in the central plains proceeded with the speed of the dragon and snake." The Canton uprising was not only a positive, courageous rebuff to the counter-revolutionary forces, which thus saved the revolution, but also a great attempt of our party to lead the worker-peasant armed forces to seize political power.

III

The Canton uprising shook the reactionaries at home and abroad. Instigated and backed by the imperialists, they colluded with each other in carrying out a counteroffensive. Chang Fa-kuei, Li Fu-lin and others hurriedly sent their troops back to Canton from Chiangmen, Shaokuan and other places to suppress the uprising. Beginning on the 12th, enemy troops were approaching along different routes, enveloping Canton from three sides--the west, the north and the south. In view of the disparity between the enemy's strength and ours, it was impossible to hold on to Canton for long. The general headquarters of the uprising had originally decided, shortly after the uprising started, to push the battlefront to the suburbs in order to mobilize the peasants. And Comrade Yeh Ting also analyzed the military situation at the time at a conference, when he called for early retreat to Hailufeng. But as the enemy troops, backed by the imperialists, were swiftly advancing toward us,

there was no time to put these proposals and measures into effect. The Workers and Peasants Red Army was compelled to take a defensive position.

Kuanyin Mountain, serving as a shield to Canton proper from the north, was a strategic military area whose seizure was the object of our repeated engagements with the enemy. At noon on the 12th an enemy regiment again violently pounced on our position on the mountain, but it was beaten back by a squad of the Instructors Regiment. Comrade Chen Keng, then working in headquarters, was ordered by Comrade Yeh Chien-ying to lead reinforcements there. With the cooperation of Red Guards led by Hsu Hsiang-chien and other comrades, they repulsed more than 10 assaults of the enemy troops in a few hours. The battery position in the middle of the mountain stayed firmly in our hands.

By the afternoon of the same day the military situation had become even more precarious. Our army had no reserve forces and no fresh supplies of ammunition and food. While our fighters were suffering from hunger and fatigue, more enemy reinforcements arrived. Comrade Chang Tai-lei, the principal organizer and commander of the uprising, courageously laid down his life in combat that afternoon. This was a very serious loss to the uprising. Comrade Yeh Ting and Comrade Nieh Jung-chen went to the roof of the former Provincial Financial Bureau building to observe and analyze the fighting. In view of the extremely unfavorable situation, the general headquarters of the uprising decided on a retreat--by separate groups--toward the Sha River, starting at 2200 that night. This was to preserve the effective strength of the revolution. But as our forces were widely scattered, many insurgents were not notified and consequently were not able to move out.

In the small hours of the 13th the reactionaries massed a strength of more than nine regiments to wage a besieging attack against us. On the northern flank two enemy regiments advanced toward Kuanyin Mountain by two different routes. The small number of Red Guards who remained there, though outnumbered, fought gallantly. When they ran out of ammunition, they fought with bare hands against the enemies who ran toward them. At about 0900, Kuanyin Mountain fell.

On the southern flank along the Pearl River, the enemy troops, escorted by several warships of the imperialists and the Kuomintang, crossed the river by four routes and launched a joint attack on us. Moreover, they were joined in the fighting by members of the sports teams of the reactionary mechanics union. Our Red Guards piled up sandbags along the Bund and courageously resisted the enemies, who outnumbered them by dozens of times. The enemy troops charged six or seven times in succession, but each time they were beaten back. Bodies of the enemies piled high along the Bund. Bracing against the rain of bullets, our position stood firm. By noon most of the Red Guards had bravely laid down their lives, and it was only then that the enemy troops landed.

By the afternoon, enemy troops from various routes had already penetrated deep into the city proper and kept closing in on the general headquarters of the Workers and Peasants Democratic Government. Comrade Yu Hsi, leader of the heroic women's squad of the Instructors Regiment, was the fiancée of martyr Hsiao Chu-nu, who was killed by the KMT reactionaries during the "15 April" counterrevolutionary coup d'etat. She led the squad to hold on to a temporary barricade and successively repulsed several attacks by the enemy. Finally, she ran out of ammunition and even her bayonet was bent. To the several wounded fighters who remained she shouted: "Comrades, as long as the last one of us is still alive, the red flag must not be allowed to fall!" Except for a messenger, every member of this heroic squad shed the last drop of her blood in defense of the revolutionary red flag.

The Canton uprising received just aid from the revolutionary people of the whole world. Many foreign revolutionary comrades working or studying in Canton joined the armed uprising and fought and shed blood for the liberation cause of the Chinese people. Among the insurgents were more than 150 Korean youths, including Comrade Tsui Yung Chien. They stubbornly resisted the enemy in the battle of the Sha River on the third day of the uprising and most of them valiantly sacrificed their lives. The lofty proletarian internationalist spirit of these comrades will always live in the hearts of our descendants.

After 3 days of bloody fighting the heroes of the Canton uprising moved out of Canton. The KMT reactionaries immediately began their extremely barbaric massacre. They wildly howled, "We would rather kill 3,000 wrongly than let one escape." Within several days after the failure of the uprising they slaughtered more than 5,700 revolutionary people. They rounded up insurgent workers, shot them, buried them alive or even burned them to death. But the revolutionary people in Canton withstood the test of the savage white terror. Before he was executed, Comrade Chou Wen-yung wrote a poem which said, "My head may fall and my limbs may be cut, but my revolutionary spirit will never die. A revolutionary may lose his head for the party, and a hero may lose his body for the masses." This amply demonstrated the noble quality of a communist who dedicated his life to the revolution and regarded death with defiance.

The Canton uprising failed, but as Chairman Mao pointed out: /"The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people have not been frightened into submission. They have not been conquered nor exterminated. They will get up from the ground, wipe the bloodstains from their bodies, bury their dead comrades and go on fighting."/ A part of the insurgent forces that moved out of Canton went to Huahsien County and there reorganized itself into the Red 4th Division, which later went to Hailufeng to join hands with the Peasant Red Guard Army under Comrade Peng Pai. A number of communists and workers who took part in the uprising retreated to Kwangsi and led the peasants to wage a guerrilla war along the Liu and Pan rivers. Some of these comrades took part in

the Liu and Pan river uprisings led by Teng Hsiao-ping, Chang Yun-i and others from 1929 to 1930. In addition, a small portion of the Canton insurgent forces, after breaking through the enemy's heavy blockade, found the Nanchang uprising forces led by Chu Te, Chen I and others in the vicinity of Shaokuan. After fighting bitterly from place to place, they went to the Chingkang Mountains.

The Canton uprising and the experience and lesson of its failure profoundly reveal to us: the Chingkangshan road opened up by Chairman Mao was the only correct road to the victory of the revolution. "A thousand rivers flow to the sea, and heavy torrents whip up huge waves." Many proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation who participated in the Canton uprising fought from one place to another after the failure of the uprising and finally came to the side of Chairman Mao. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's great strategic concept of using the countryside to encircle the cities and of seizing political power by force, the Chinese revolution began a spectacular new chapter. After 22 years of heroic fighting, the great victory of nationwide revolution was finally won.

In those years the "Declaration Commemorating the Martyrs" issued by the Canton Workers and Peasants Democratic Government said, in part: "...Let us not forget these martyrs. All our achievements resulted from their efforts and the shedding of their blood. Let us forever commemorate the spirit of hard struggle of these martyrs and forever carry on the cause accomplished by these martyrs." Half a century has passed since then. Today, in commemorating the 50th anniversary of the Canton uprising, we must doubly remember these revolutionary martyrs who courageously laid down their lives during the uprising and doubly respect and love our proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation. This in turn makes us hate even more the evil "gang of four" for their vicious slander and their attacks against the revolutionary martyrs and the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation. In commemorating the 50th anniversary of the Canton uprising, we must seriously study the revolutionary history of our party and army and inherit and carry forward the fine traditions of our party and army. Under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by wise leader Chairman Hua, we must hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao, deeply expose and criticize the "gang of four," grasp the key link in running the country well, and devote ourselves to the hard struggle to speed up the realization of the grand goal of the four modernizations. We vow to carry the proletarian revolutionary cause begun by Chairman Mao through to the end!

IT IS NECESSARY TO ATTACH IMPORTANCE TO INVESTIGATION AND STUDY

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 5 Dec 77 pp 52-55

[Article by the Ninghsia Hui Autonomous Region CCP Committee]

[Text] To get deeply involved with actual conditions in investigation and study is the most fundamental Marxist work method and a concentrated expression of adherence to the dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge. At a time when we are penetratingly studying the documents of the 11th CCP Congress and energetically carrying out its line, a review of Chairman Mao's consistent teachings calling for a down-to-earth approach and for investigation and study has made us deeply realize that restoring and carrying forward the party's fine tradition of investigation and study are major issues bearing on the proper consolidation and building of our party and important guarantees for the overall and correct implementation of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and the realization of the strategic policy decision on grasping the key link in running the country well.

Great leader and teacher Chairman Mao consistently attached importance to investigation and study. In the article entitled "Oppose Book Worship" written as early as 1930, he put forward the well-known thesis: "NO INVESTIGATION, NO RIGHT TO SPEAK," This precisely summed up the Marxist principle of the unity of the subjective and the objective and of theory and practice, making clear the great significance of investigation and study. Over a long period of struggle in which Chairman Mao led the Chinese revolution, he often admonished the whole party to study materialism and dialectics, to oppose subjectivism, dogmatism and empiricism, to do everything with reality in mind and to vigorously promote the practice of investigation and study. After the beginning of the period of socialist revolution, Chairman Mao pointed out that we still had much to learn about the realm of necessity and stressed the importance of recognizing and grasping the objective laws governing the building of socialism. He called on us to "FULLY AROUSE THE MASSES AND PRECEDE EVERYTHING WITH AN EXPERIMENT." [paragraph continues]

He urged the leading cadres at various levels to go to the basic levels to make investigations and studies and to personally stay at selected points to analyze things. Chairman Mao set a personal example. He went among the masses, ascertaining conditions, making careful and systematic investigations and studies, integrating the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, and correctly solving a series of major problems in the theory and practice of our revolution and construction. Under Chairman Mao's wise leadership, our party always regarded investigation and study as a basic task that must be done well by the cadres of the whole party, especially the leading cadres. The fine tradition and style of attaching importance to investigation and study developed throughout the party.

In order to carry out their counterrevolutionary plot of usurping party and state power, Lin Piao and the "gang of four" tried in every way to spoil the party's fine style of getting down to earth and following the mass line and to oppose the scientific way of investigation and study consistently advocated by Chairman Mao. The idealist transcendentalism advocated by Lin Piao and the idealism and metaphysics vigorously promoted by the "gang of four" basically run counter to the fundamental principles of the dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge. They opposed investigation and study and were extremely hostile to those comrades who seriously applied themselves to investigation and study. They bitterly hated the results of the latter's investigations reflecting objective realities and freely attacked them. But they too ordered certain people to make so-called "investigations." Their real aim was to hunt for sinister materials and falsify typical cases so as to find "a factual basis" to facilitate their usurping party and state power. This series of criminal activities did the whole party great harm. Ninghsia also suffered serious evil consequences.

Individual leading personnel of the former regional party committee followed the "gang of four" and energetically pushed their counterrevolutionary revisionist line. They refused to investigate and study things, told lies and talked nonsense. They also vigorously opposed investigation and study by other people and tried to spoil the results of investigation and study. Their adoption of a bad attitude toward the investigation and study of the serious problems existing in the area of Liupanshan is a case in point. Our Liupanshan area is predominantly inhabited by the Hui people and is a place through which Chairman Mao led the worker-peasant Red Army on the Long March. Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee have always shown great concern for this area. In 1972, esteemed and beloved Premier Chou instructed the relevant department of the party Central Committee to send a work group deep into this area to investigate such problems as further consolidating the implementation of the party's nationalities policy, speeding up the building of the mountainous area, and so forth. Later, Premier Chou again told Comrade Hua Kuo-feng to call together the secretaries of the party committees of various counties of the mountainous area for a forum. The aim was to continue ascertaining the conditions and to solve existing problems. The great concern on the part of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao greatly educated and inspired the cadres and the people of Hui, Han and other nationalities in the whole area. Due to adherence to the principle of a taking down-to-earth approach, this investigation helped in exposing and criticizing the wrong line pushed by individual leading personnel of the former regional party committee and in ripping off the mask of these persons who fooled themselves and others by resorting to deceit. This made them unhappy. They pretended to go along but were actually against us and tried in every way to resist what was being done. They not only refused to accept criticism and to review mistakes in their work, but also refrained from going among the masses to ascertain actual conditions. They even failed to seriously transmit and implement the instructions of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao. This seriously interfered with and disrupted the firm implementation of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in this area. [paragraph continues]

In order to gang up to usurp power, they sometimes raised the banner of "investigation and study," summoning false witnesses, falsifying cases, fabricating lies and uttering slanders, framing up charges against revolutionary cadres, or freely distorting facts, concealing mistakes, faking reports on achievements and deceiving Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee. Anyone who dared to persistently uphold party spirit, to report facts and to fight their despicable work methods was ruthlessly attacked. Especially when the "gang of four" were stepping up their pace to usurp party and state power, under the cover of "investigation" and "staying at selected points," they energetically collected sinister materials and created sinister typical examples to provide the "gang of four" with antiparty ammunition. This caused our region to suffer great losses in socialist revolution and construction.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," under the wise leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, the revolutionary style of a down-to-earth approach and investigation and study advocated by Chairman Mao has been restored and carried forward and Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line has been correctly implemented in an all-round manner. But it should be noted that in order to thoroughly eliminate the remnant poison of the "gang of four" and set straight one by one all the things reversed by them in regard to theory, ideology and line, we must still show great determination and make great efforts. We must fully arouse the masses and rely on them to penetratingly investigate and study a number of problems such as the histories and existing conditions of various areas and various fronts, the concrete manifestations and harmful effects of the remnant poison of the "gang of four's" revisionist line, experiences and lessons in the struggle between the two lines, and so forth. Only in this way can we solve problems correctly and make our work proceed in a down-to-earth manner. In the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four," whether you are firm in your stand and hold a clear-cut banner are determined not by what you say but by whether you work hard and with care and grasp the key problems in the relevant unit in a tit-for-tat struggle against the counterrevolutionary revisionist line. If you make no investigation or study and do nothing but talk aloud, then anything concerning the right or the wrong line or any practical problem cannot be solved. This will inevitably dampen the enthusiasm of the masses and have an evil effect on practical work. The call for grasping the key link in running the country well and for quick progress through the exertion of great efforts will get nowhere.

Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, the strategic policy decision on grasping the key link in running the country well and a series of important instructions from Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee have arisen out of the practical struggle by millions upon millions of revolutionary people and represent the fundamental interests of the people. In the process of their implementation, only by bringing the concrete line and specific and general policies for various tasks in line with the concrete conditions of the relevant areas, the relevant departments and the relevant units can we give full play to the might of the party's line and policy and solve actual problems in our work. Chairman Mao pointed out: "EVEN WITH THE CORRECT GUIDELINE AND POLICY, PROBLEMS WILL OCCUR IF WE NEGLECT TO ADOPT PROPER WORK METHODS. To get deeply involved in actual conditions in investigation and study provides a basis for properly implementing the party's line and properly grasping the party's policy. When we have paid attention to investigation and study, ascertained proper conditions and adopted the right methods, we have relatively deep understanding of the party's line and our progress in work is relatively smooth. Otherwise, we cannot exercise effective leadership over the cadres and the masses. In the face of actual problems that emerge ceaselessly, we will be helpless, hesitant or passive. Certain areas and units have many problems and a welter of contradictions, and cannot distinguish between right and wrong.

This especially calls for solving problems through penetrating and systematic investigation and study under the guidance of Mao Tsetung Thought. Such is the situation in certain organs at the regional level. For a long time, due to interference and sabotage of the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary revisionist line, the party's guideline and policy were not thoroughly implemented. The chief leading cadres were ruthlessly trounced upon as targets of struggle. Many problems confused people as to what was right and what was wrong.

After the smashing of the "gang of four," we grasped the key problem, which was that individual leading personnel of the former regional party committee had pushed the revisionist organizational line, tried to take over and seize power and persecuted revolutionary leading cadres. We fully aroused the masses, made penetrating and conscientious investigations and studies, and clarified one by one the various charges they made against others. Thus, the whole truth came out. The major issues of right and wrong in the struggle between the two lines quickly became clear. The important instructions of Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee on grasping the key link in running the country well were smoothly carried out. This is eloquent proof that penetrating investigation and study are an important way of using the correct line to triumph over the wrong line and also an effective measure for carrying forward the excellent situation and effecting great order and quick progress.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four" and under the wise leadership of Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee, a very favorable situation has emerged throughout the country and a new situation of a leap-forward has appeared on various fronts. However, due to the "gang of four's" interference and sabotage, certain temporary difficulties still exist in various fields. They must be overcome quickly. Difficulties are contradictions. To overcome them, we must analyze and recognize them through investigation and study and make them change in the right direction. Our Communist Party members are dauntless and thorough materialists. Regarding difficulties in our work, we have always adopted an attitude of showing defiance strategically and taking things seriously tactically. So long as we have a correct attitude toward them and seriously analyze and study them, we can surely solve them step by step. Some people are afraid of shouldering heavy burdens and afraid of making mistakes. "They run away from problems, draw back upon discovering contradictions, and keep their mouths shut when they should come forward to clarify things about what is right and what is wrong." Such a mentality is by no means the proper attitude for a Communist Party member. When the "gang of four" ran amuck, anyone who had a correct attitude toward objective reality and investigated and reported problems and difficulties existing in our work in a down-to-earth manner or dared to say anything against their fabricated lies, their fallacies and their false typical examples was outrageously accused of "negating the excellent situation," "negating the Great Cultural Revolution" and of other things. Their so doing only served to expose their feeble nature. They did not have truth on their side and the masses were not behind them. They were afraid of the truth being revealed. We must thoroughly expose their criminal course of action, further emancipate our thinking, stir up our revolutionary spirit, approach the difficulties in our work with the active attitude and the high sense of responsibility that we assume toward the party and toward the socialist cause and adopt effective measures through investigation and study in order to solve problems in a serious manner..

In the final analysis, the two different attitudes toward investigation and study are a concrete reflection of two world outlooks in practical work. To adhere to dialectical materialism and historical materialism and recognize and transform the world in light of things as they actually are--this is the cream of Chairman Mao's **philosophical thinking**. The reason why Taching and Tachai have become examples followed by the whole country is that they have always made a point of arming the cadres and people with Chairman Mao's philosophical thinking, persisted in doing things according to materialism and dialectics in all cases and at all times, and integrated soaring revolutionary enthusiasm with a strict scientific attitude.

Some comrades are incapable of adopting a correct attitude toward investigation and study. In their work, they confine themselves to sitting indoors, scanning documents, listening to reports and making general appeals. They divorce themselves from actual conditions and from the masses, and have only a vague idea of conditions at lower levels. The chief reason is that their minds are occupied more with idealism and metaphysics than with materialism and dialectics. They are not inclined to shed arrogance and become willing pupils. The most fundamental way to strengthen investigation and study is to seriously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and to strive to remold world outlook. We must deeply understand that subjectivism, bureaucratism and the style of divorcing oneself from reality and from the masses represent an anti-Marxist ideological style and do great harm to the revolutionary cause. We must consciously come forward to resist and overcome them, and promise ourselves to get out of the rut, get out of the office and to go to the forefront of the three great revolutionary movements and among the workers, peasants and soldiers so as to rid ourselves of the dust of subjectivism and bureaucratism and effect a big change in our ideological style.

Now we have entered into a new stage of development in our socialist revolution and construction. The changing situation demands that our leading organs and leading cadres at various levels quickly change their style, strengthen investigation and study in a practical way and do work in a more down-to-earth manner to achieve greater results. In May 1963, at a crucial moment when our country had overcome the temporary difficulties in the national economy and a new upsurge began to appear in industrial and agricultural production, Chairman Mao issued a combat call to the whole party: "WE SHOULD GIVE OUR COMRADES EDUCATION IN THE DIALECTICAL MATERIALIST THEORY OF KNOWLEDGE SO THAT THEY CAN SET THEIR THINKING STRAIGHT, BE GOOD AT INVESTIGATION AND STUDY AND AT SUMMING UP EXPERIENCES AND OVERCOMING DIFFICULTIES, MAKE FEWER MISTAKES, DO THEIR WORK WELL, STRIVE TO FORGE AHEAD, BUILD A GREAT AND POWERFUL SOCIALIST COUNTRY AND HELP THE OPPRESSED AND EXPLOITED PEOPLE IN THE WORLD TO FULFILL THE GREAT INTERNATIONALIST TASKS THAT SHOULD BE ASSUMED BY US." Chairman Mao's meaningful instructions remain a profound guiding light and a great stimulation to us today in our inheriting and carrying forward the party's fine tradition of investigation and study, carrying out the strategic policy decision on grasping the key link in running the country well and achieving the great goal of the four modernizations.

PENETRATINGLY EXPOSE AND RELENTLESSLY CRITICIZE BY GRASPING THE ESSENTIAL POINT

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 5 Dec 77 pp 56-57

[Article by Yen Ping [0917 1627]]

[Text] The third battle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" has gathered momentum. How can we conduct this campaign in a better way? An important experience gained on the education front tells us that we must grasp the "gang of four's" problems that caused the greatest havoc and then penetratingly expose and relentlessly criticize them.

The educational front is where the "gang of four" caused extensive havoc. Chairman Mao's brilliant concept of the educational revolution was so grossly distorted and radically altered by the "gang of four" that the damage done was extremely grave. With Chairman Hua's and the party Central Committee's loving concern, the vast number of cadres and the masses on the education front have grasped the "two assessments" concocted by the "gang of four" and displayed vigor in unfolding revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation.

Hitting the "gang of four" where it hurt, especially their crimes in opposing Chairman Mao's line for proletarian education and in wildly wrecking the revolution in education, they correctly solved the problems such as whether the Red line or the "dictatorship of the black line" prevailed in the preceding 17 years and whether the vast number of intellectuals constituted a revolutionary force or a target of the revolution. This helped in clarifying the thinking confused by the "gang of four" and in defending Chairman Mao's great banner. With the spiritual yoke fettering the vast number of education workers and intellectuals shattered, long suppressed enthusiasm was aroused, and the entire educational front has flourished as never before. An excellent situation characterized by great order and rapid progress has prevailed. Mass criticism and repudiation on the educational front is in fact surging forward.

The experience we gained in criticizing the "two assessments" on the educational front is of great significance in conducting the third battle well. Since the pernicious influence of the counterrevolutionary revisionist line pushed by the "gang of four" was spread far and wide, it affected every sphere, locality, department and unit. As Chairman Mao said: /"There are many contradictions in the process of development of a complex thing, and one of them is necessarily the principal contradiction. Its existence and development determine or influence the existence and development of the other contradictions."/ He also said: /"Once this principal contradiction is grasped, all problems can be readily solved."/

As on the educational front, all fronts, all localities and all departments should pick points where they can make a breakthrough, grasping problems having a bearing on the overall situation, exposing and criticizing the ultrarightist nature of the counterrevolutionary revisionist line pushed by the "gang of four," and distinguishing between right and wrong in line, in ideology and in theory. This is like attacking an enemy position. Once a breakthrough is effected at a single point, the enemy's entire front will collapse. This will greatly boost our morale and enable us to advance with a shattering force and quickly expand the gains of the battle.

To accurately grasp problems and criticize them thoroughly, we must study in earnest and conduct investigation and study well. First of all we must seriously study Chairman Mao's works, comprehensively and accurately comprehending and applying the system of Mao Tsetung Thought instead of parroting separate phrases and sentences. Painstaking effort is required to study and make clear how Chairman Mao stated things and how the "gang of four" disrupted things, in this way distinguishing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line from the gang's counterrevolutionary revisionist line.

At the same time, we must seriously study the history of the two-line struggle and the current situation, paying attention to listening to the views of the masses, finding what they really care for and what they eagerly hope to solve. In this way we can penetratingly expose and relentlessly criticize by grasping the essential point and shatter the spiritual yoke of the "gang of four" imposed on the masses and get justice for them. One of the reasons revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation in some localities and units has tended to fall into generalities and become ineffective is that there is no serious effort to conduct investigation and study and to grasp crucial problems.

Practice tells us that the key to making a success of penetratingly exposing and relentlessly criticizing by grasping the essential point lies in liberating the thinking of the leadership. If leaders themselves have too many cares, fearing this or that and being apprehensive of the "gang of four's" practice of labeling and bludgeoning, they will

avoid taking a good look at problems of common concern and skirt them. Thus, mass criticism will very likely touch on the superficialities and bypass the main issues.

The spiritual yoke imposed by the "gang of four" for many years has fettered people. Whether the leading cadres at all levels dare take the lead in smashing this spiritual yoke is a question of awareness, a question of keeping to the revolutionary style of work. In the final analysis, the question of having the daring or not rests with an individual's deep-seated hatred for the "gang of four" and their remnant followers and factional network, with his unbounded devotion to the people's cause, with his courage in adhering to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, and with his proletarian party spirit of selfless fortitude and of seeking truth from facts. Only with these can one dare advocate destruction and construction, disregarding the banner flaunted by the "gang of four" and their remnant factional network and the tricks they played. So long as they are against the system of Mao Tsetung Thought and contradict Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we must display daring in completely exposing them and in quelling disorder and restoring order. Only by putting daring to the fore can one be considered to be good at both destruction and construction.

At the moment not all comrades are attaching importance to the question of conducting revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation and of grasping it. Some comrades view "production and assigned tasks as jobs that call for arduous efforts, regarding mass criticism as something that can be taken up or dropped." This way of thinking is wrong. Like waging revolutionary wars, revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation provides a kind of antidote--/"not only does it dispel the enemy's poisonous flames but it also cleanses one's own filth."/

Revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation will stamp out the pernicious influence spread by the "gang of four" and enable our comrades to be tempered and raise their political awareness. The struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" is a truly tough battle requiring arduous efforts over a long period of time. Only by conducting this battle well, politically, ideologically and organizationally eliminating the "gang of four's" pernicious influence and comprehensively and accurately implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, can people's enthusiasm be aroused in a better way. And only then can they display the spirit of daring and vigor and march toward the goal of achieving the four modernizations and of building a great and powerful socialist state. If some people even now are not aware of the necessity and immense impact of mass criticism, then let them take a good look at the huge changes recently effected on the educational front by exposing and criticizing the "two assessments." Isn't this very clear?

IT IS NECESSARY TO GRASP THE KEY LINK WELL IN WORKING HARD TO ADVANCE QUICKLY

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 5 Dec 77 pp 57-58

[Article by Ting Shang [0002 1424]]

[Text] "Work hard to advance quickly" has become the combat slogan for millions upon millions of people. But how to work hard to advance quickly? Should we keep a tight grip on the exposure and criticism of the "gang of four" as the key link to push production and various fields of endeavor forward, or should we keep busy all day solving concrete problems in production? Different approaches will bring different results. In this respect, the case of the North China oilfield is a thought-provoking one.

To realize the great call for building 10 Ta-ch'ings put forward by Chairman Hua, it is determined to push oilfield construction forward as quickly as possible. Raising the pace of drilling is a very important link. How to more quickly raise the pace of drilling? The party committee of this oilfield organized a learn-from-Ta-ch'ing work team to go deep into the midst of grassroots levels and among the masses. The team did a great deal of investigation and research. It found that certain problems such as production technique, organization and management, the supply of materials, etc. must be seriously solved. But what was more important was the need to eliminate the remnant poison and influence of the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary revisionist line. In the past, this oilfield won the battle against the "gang of four" and did not suffer many serious "external wounds." But many people received "internal injuries." The leadership of the party organization of certain drilling teams had its authority so weakened that what was said was not acted upon. Evil bourgeois styles and trends were not held in check. Organizational discipline was relaxed. Certain leading cadres dared not take charge lest they might be accused of "control, checking and suppression" and "directing the spearhead downward" and of looking the other way. Many problems long remained unsolved. The situation made the party organization of the oilfield deeply realize that the remnant poison and

influence of the "gang of four" had done great damage to the oilfield and that such damage could not be underestimated. We must firmly grasp the exposure and criticism of the "gang of four" as the key link to stimulate the building of the whole oilfield. Otherwise, the masses could not distinguish between right and wrong and could not rouse themselves to action, nor could the cadres. Thus, we could not start working hard to advance quickly. Therefore, the party organization further aroused the masses to vigorously fight a people's war in penetratingly exposing and criticizing the "gang of four," to energetically carry out activities showing contrasts in the line, to link reality with the penetrating exposure and vigorous criticism of anarchism, "technique is useless" and other fallacies spread by the "gang of four," and to eliminate the remnant poison and influence of the "gang of four." With the right and wrong lines clarified, the masses acted as one. Enterprise management was strengthened. Many problems in production were readily solved. The pace of drilling quickened. The masses said with feeling: "Just as the ox responds to a pull at the rope through its nose, so work proceeds smoothly with the key link grasped."

This vivid case once again shows that "the great class struggle to expose and criticize the 'gang of four' is a current basic driving force behind the progress of our work." With a view to the high-speed development of the cause of socialist construction, we must firmly grasp class struggle as the key link. Cases like this are numerous and can be found everywhere. All the areas and units that have handled well the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" have undergone tremendous changes in their features. The advanced have become more advanced. The backward have become advanced. Those who long left state plans unfulfilled have overfulfilled such plans. Those units which for years were in the red have turned a losing business into a profitable one. On the other hand, why is it that certain units have not yet shown any noticeable progress? In the final analysis, this is due to the different attitudes of the leadership toward the importance of grasping the key link, the different amounts of attention shown and the different degrees of enthusiasm displayed, so different results follow.

Chairman Mao taught us: /"The party committee must not only 'grasp' the main work but also 'firmly grasp' it."/ At present the third battle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" has got off to a roaring start. The party committees at various levels must firmly and tightly grasp this struggle, thoroughly eliminate the remnant poison and influence of the "gang of four" in various fields, and further raise the activism of the masses of people and cadres. In many areas and units, both the "external wounds" and "internal wounds" caused by the "gang of four" are serious. If we fail to fully arouse the masses, to whip up a big wave of enthusiasm, to do a good job of study, exposure, criticism and investigation, and to work assiduously and conscientiously, then "external wounds" will not heal easily and "internal wounds" will be more difficult to cure. Only by grasping the key link well and sweeping clean the garbage left

by the "gang of four" can we advance quickly by working hard. The idea that "now we must work hard--but we're kept too busy with production to bother about the business of criticism" is very harmful. Where the broom of revolutionary mass criticism fails to reach, the remnant poison of the "gang of four" will not disappear of itself. Those units which have won the battle against the "gang of four" must have suffered certain injuries. Could it be that you haven't been the least "hurt"? You must not neglect to consult a doctor for fear of facing an ailment head-on. You must lose no time in finding the right antidote for your "wounds." The more thoroughly you are cured, the better for you.

The key link and "everything else" form the unity of opposites. We must dialectically understand and handle the relationship between the two. With the key link grasped well, all other work will be brought under control. This guarantees quick progress through hard work. The experience of many units shows that the party committee must take the exposure and criticism of the "gang of four" as the center of attention and that the No 1 men must personally take charge. No matter how time presses and how busy we are, we can't relax the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four," and we cannot lessen its importance. With a new year coming and many kinds of work to be done, this problem calls for our special attention. Of course, this doesn't mean that a lot of time must be used and a lot of meetings must be held. The problem here has to do with how various tasks are to be placed in the order of importance and with the core of a work program. /"The party committee must firmly grasp central work and at the same time take up work in other fields, doing so around central work."/ Only by grasping the key link can everything else fall into place and can there appear a lively and vivid scene of everyone working hard and advancing quickly.

WORK HARD IN COORDINATION TO MAKE SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH A SUCCESS

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 5 Dec 77 pp 59-63

[Article by Chu Kuang-ya [2612 0342 0068]]

[Text] The situation on the scientific and technological front in China is excellent at present and is getting better and better. A great revolutionary mass movement to march forward toward the modernization of science and technology is being whipped up swiftly and sharply.

As early as 1956 great leader and teacher Chairman Mao pointed out: /"The people of our country should have a far-reaching program and must strive to change the backwardness of our country in the economic, scientific and cultural fields within the next few decades and to rapidly attain the advanced world level."/ Chairman Mao always emphasized that it is necessary to persistently put proletarian politics in command, strengthen the leadership of the party, implement the mass line, maintain independence, take the initiative in our own hands, rely on our own efforts and follow our own road in the development of science and technology. To rapidly develop pioneering science and technology in our country, Chairman Mao also issued the great call for /"working hard in coordination to make a success of such work."/ Overall planning, all-round arrangements, working hard in coordination and close cooperation are important links in making a success of modern scientific research. Esteemed and beloved Premier Chou also clearly pointed out that in order to successfully develop scientific research work in our country it is necessary to implement the principle of cooperation and that the various departments concerned must work in coordination. Chairman Mao's great call and Premier Chou's instruction, which were put forward in accordance with the law governing the development of modern science and technology and the concrete situation of socialist construction in our country, constitute an important principle which must be followed in the development of scientific and technological undertakings in our country. To realize the modernization of science and technology it is imperative to implement Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, seriously sum up experiences and implement the principle of coordination in a better way.

The scientific research work of mankind in the early days began with the singlehanded efforts of an individual or the simple cooperation of several persons. By the end of the 19th century science and technology had begun to develop at a rate and on a scale never witnessed before. Following the expansion of industrial production, the fruits of science and technology were applied in production in an increasingly wider way. Hence, a great impetus was given to the development of production, and the needs of production also brought about the rapid development of science and technology. At that time most scientific and technological problems could no longer be solved by the old method of allowing scientists to freely conduct research. Therefore, there appeared collective research organizations for the purpose of organizing scientific research personnel to work toward a certain goal. Beginning in the 1930's, science and technology made further headway and, in particular, atom bombs, guided missiles, manmade satellites, astronautical technology and other kinds of pioneering science and technology were developed. All these are highly complicated scientific and technological projects that call for the investment of huge amounts of manpower and material resources and the construction of enormous research and experimental bases. Modern science and technology have developed to a stage that calls for the unified planning and organized coordination of the state. For example, in 1896 the French scientist Becquerel put a packet of uranium crystal salt together with some photosensitive paper and made the important discovery that the uranium salt could produce radioactivity. A lot of experimental work on basic particles done at that time had to be carried out in a high energy accelerator. This was a piece of equipment involving great investment and complicated technology. Its development through research could be completed only by means of close coordination, division of labor, and cooperation of nuclear physicists, designers and professional people in the electronic, mechanical and metallurgical fields. It was harder and harder to obtain new results, and the costs also rose higher and higher. Moreover, the influence of modern science and technology permeates various realms of society. The higher the degree of industrialization of society, the more extensive and profound such influence becomes. Looking at the development of natural science itself, although the various branches of modern science are relatively independent, due to the mutual influence and interpenetration of various branches of science--with the barriers constantly being broken through--there have emerged many borderline types of science and technology. Under such circumstances, the carrying out of a scientific research project--particularly a pioneering scientific or technological project--touches upon many branches of science and technology. Practice shows that the desire to use the limited energy of an individual or to rely on the singlehanded efforts of an individual unit to accomplish a complicated pioneering scientific research task is futile. American scientist Goddard devoted all his life to rocket research and once attempted to plan a flight to the moon. He even attempted to launch an experimental rocket in 1926. However, with the German V-2 rocket commissioned for use in 1945, he died without making any achievement of significance. This shows that,

based on the trend of development of science and technology, in order to allow modern science and technology to forge ahead rapidly there must be scientific experimental activities planned by the state.

However, under the capitalist system, science and technology kept in the hands of the monopoly bourgeoisie are nothing more than tools for milking high profits. It is true that for the sake of fighting for the market in order to reap high profits the capitalists sometimes carry out cooperation and exchange in scientific and technological projects and use bonuses to stimulate scientific and technological inventions. However, when new scientific and technological inventions are unfavorable to them, they unhesitatingly block and hold back the use of such new inventions. Just as great leader Lenin pointed out: The capitalist society /"has solved most complicated technical problems, but because of the poverty and ignorance of the multitudes and due to the stupidity and avarice of the millionaires, it has also arrested the realization of technical improvement."/ ("Civilization and Savagery," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 19, p 389) /"Only socialism can enable science to free itself from the bourgeois shackles, the enslavement of capital, and the status of a slave to the despicable private interests of capitalism."/ ("Speech at the First Congress of the National Economic Committee," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 571)

The socialist system of our country has opened up a boundlessly broad future for the development of scientific and technological undertakings. Since the founding of the People's Republic, the scientific and technological undertakings of our country have made rapid headway and scored enormous achievements. This was precisely the result of upholding the mass line and of practicing socialist cooperation on a large scale under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. In 1956, based on Chairman Mao's instructions, Premier Chou exercised personal leadership over the formulation of China's 12-year plan for scientific and technological development from 1956 to 1967. Under the kind attention of Chairman Mao and the concrete leadership of Premier Chou, with the masses of scientists and technicians and the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers making diligent efforts and fighting in coordination, this magnificent plan was basically fulfilled ahead of schedule in 1962. After that, our country built a number of important scientific research organizations and formed a contingent of our own scientists and technicians, thus enabling China's science and technology to quickly catch up from the backward state of the past, which was like starting with a blank piece of paper. In the early part of the 1960's, when the Soviet revisionist renegade clique perfidiously tore up contracts and recalled its experts in a vain attempt to smother China's socialist construction cause in its cradle and the interference and sabotage of Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line made things very difficult, Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee boldly decided to formulate the 10-year plan for scientific and technological development from 1963 to 1972. In 1963 Chairman Mao also personally heard the reports on the national 10-year

plan for science and technology and gave important instructions. The formulation and enforcement of these two long-range plans for science and technology constituted a great revolutionary practice for our party to lead and organize forces in diverse fields throughout the country to march forward toward the modernization of science and technology, and made important contributions to consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and strengthening the materialist base of socialism.

The building of China's atomic energy undertaking from nothing to something was precisely one of the important fruits of these two plans and of the coordinated fight by forces in different fields. Under the centralized and unified leadership of the party Central Committee, Premier Chou assumed command and organized a cooperative network throughout the country. From the central authorities to the local authorities, from the various ministries and commissions to colleges and vocational schools, for the sake of developing China's atomic energy undertaking, all trades and professions throughout the country united as one, practiced division of work and cooperation, worked in close coordination and fought battles of annihilation with concentrated strength. Over a not very long period there was built what began to assume the shape of an atomic energy industrial system. The masses of workers, engineers and technicians, scientists and PLA commanders and fighters who participated in this task worked hard in coordination, carried forward the soaring revolutionary drive, displayed a high degree of creative spirit, surmounted an array of technical barriers and conducted over 1,000 scientific experiments. In October 1964 our country successfully detonated its first atom bomb. Two years and 8 months later China's first hydrogen bomb was also successfully tested. This broke the back of Soviet-U.S. nuclear monopoly and nuclear blackmail and smashed the plot of Soviet revisionism, which attempted to strangle China's atomic energy undertaking. The rapid development by our country of atomic energy, guided missiles, manmade satellites and other pioneering science and technology for national defense in the past 20 years has fully manifested the enormous power of working hard in coordination and is a great victory of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

For a long time, however, China's scientific and technological undertakings were interfered with and sabotaged in various fields by Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and, especially, the "gang of four." This had grave and evil consequences. Sabotage of the principle of working hard in coordination was one of their towering crimes. For example, they talked nonsense about what was "primary" and what ranked "first." They deliberately created ideological confusion and sabotaged the practice of division of work and cooperation by various departments. Due to their criminal aim of conspiratorially usurping party and state power, they also vigorously opposed the policy of bringing into play the two initiatives of the central and local authorities. In the areas and units under their control they wanted to bring about so-called "integrated spots," to form their own systems and to create independent kingdoms so

as to sabotage the unified leadership and overall planning of the party Central Committee and to upset planned arrangements based upon division of work and cooperation. In short, the "gang of four" were a scourge to the nation and the people. They seriously trampled underfoot China's scientific and technological undertakings so as to widen the diminishing gap between China and the advanced world level of science.

The overthrow of the "gang of four" has swept away the biggest obstacle to the development of science and technology in our country. We certainly must firmly implement the series of important instructions by Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee on grasping the key link in running the country well, thoroughly expose and criticize the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of the "gang of four," eliminate its pernicious influence, restore and carry forward the fine tradition and work style of the party, bring into play all positive factors, better implement the principle of working hard in coordination, and hasten the rapid advance of China's science and technology along the road pointed out by Chairman Mao.

It is imperative to fully recognize the importance and necessity of working hard in coordination and to raise our consciousness. It should be said that through many years of practice the overwhelming majority of our comrades have some recognition and understanding of this problem. However, because the "gang of four" confused people ideologically, created splits and antagonisms and destroyed the cooperative network already built, there still are some difficulties in the arrangement of cooperation at present, and sometimes even the progress of scientific research work is affected. Because the relations of cooperation are complicated and troublesome, some comrades also tend to think that it is more convenient for them to do things on their own so as to make more rapid progress. If this course is followed, the already decentralized forces are found to become even more decentralized, thereby affecting the rate of development of scientific and technical undertakings. It must be recognized that the existence of difficulties in cooperation is only a temporary phenomenon, but with the further improvement of the situation such difficulties will surely be overcome. With the guidance of Mao Tsetung Thought and the strong leadership of the party Central Committee headed by wise leader Chairman Hua, our problems in work certainly can be solved gradually. We should strengthen our confidence and be promoters of progress in carrying out the principle of working hard in coordination.

It is imperative to handle well the relationship between democracy and centralism. On the question of science and technology it is quite natural that there are different views among different departments and units. However, the "gang of four" seriously sabotaged the party's style of work and the democracy of technology, thus making it impossible to seriously discuss the problems of science and technology. They also sabotaged centralism, and for a long time a more unified opinion could

not be formed. Sometimes the decisions already made could not be implemented. Esteemed and beloved Premier Chou taught us that it is necessary, on the one hand, to promote letting a hundred schools of thought contend, and that it is also necessary to oppose sectarian views that hamper cooperation. We surely must firmly bear this instruction in mind. On the question of science and technology it is necessary to seriously implement the policy of letting a hundred schools of thought contend, bring into full play the democracy of technology, uphold the scientific attitude and seek truth from facts. Meanwhile, when making decisions on the strength of concentrating the wisdom of different people, the leaders must be good and bold at practicing centralism. In places which lag behind, proper decisions should be made so that the problems remaining can be solved by making further investigation and study and through scientific practice. Once a decision is made, all quarters should carry it out. In short, it is imperative to overcome sectarian views, protracted and endless disputes, and the erroneous tendency to hamper cooperation.

It is imperative to handle well the relationship between the whole and the parts. Since modern science and technology, and especially pioneering science and technology, are highly complex, it is always necessary for a department or unit to grasp them technically. Different scientific and technological problems should be studied and handled with the whole taken as the starting point. Such a department or unit should do a good job of organizing fighting in coordination between different units and hold itself technically responsible in all fields. We have also accumulated considerable good experience in this connection over a number of years. However, it is also due to the sabotage of the "gang of four" that some units have the erroneous tendency to onesidedly emphasize their own position to varying degrees. The part does not submit to the whole, and the whole does not take care of the part. The sum total of technology cannot be brought into play and sometimes cannot even be formed. This situation should not be allowed to continue. The establishment of the sum total of technology is essential to work. Fundamentally, there is not a problem of what is higher and what is lower, because everything serves the people. When carrying out its own duties, the higher unit, as the sum total of technology, should deepen its understanding of the realities of the different scientific research units, humbly listen to their views and, after fully discussing things, properly coordinate and handle the various contradictions. The various units must factually reflect their status and their problems. They must start from the whole, actively put forward their views and suggestions, and respect the decisions of the unit representing the whole body. They must take care of and support each other, advocate taking the interests of the whole into account, and carry forward the communist style of offering others what is appropriate while tackling the difficulties themselves. Only in this way can scientific and technological work be carried out better.

It is imperative to strengthen the three-in-one combination of scientific research, production and application. The "gang of four" negated the revolutionary movement to conduct scientific experiment and the role of science as the promoter of production, thus seriously hampering the development of scientific research and production and also creating great difficulties for application. The source of trouble has now been removed. The production departments must pay attention to scientific research, actively adopt new technology, be brave in reforming technology, and constantly improve the quality of products and the productivity of labor. Those which have already set up their own scientific research organizations must reinforce and strengthen them. Those which still have not set up such organizations should gradually do so in order to strengthen their scientific and technological forces. The user departments should also actively conduct their own scientific research work according to their individual conditions and actual needs and strive to master new technology. They also must show warm concern for and give support to the work of scientific research and production departments. They must set strict requirements in respect to quality and must also recognize that it takes some time to overcome the difficulties created by the sabotage of the "gang of four." They should take the initiative to coordinate the scientific research and production departments and make joint efforts to shorten this process. Professional scientific and technological departments playing the backbone role must take the initiative even more to make a success of cooperation. They must humbly heed what the production and user departments say, strive to improve their own work, scale new heights and make scientific research walk in the van to better serve production and application. In short, the goal of all is the same, and understanding, support and friendship are more important than anything else. It is necessary to oppose the erroneous tendency of hampering cooperation, with each looking after his own business, insisting on his own views and refusing to yield to others.

It is imperative to properly handle the relationship between division of work and cooperation. The national plan for the development of science and technology which is in the course of being formulated is broader and deeper than the previous two plans. It will play an important role in mobilizing and organizing the forces of cooperation throughout the country. However, due to the serious sabotage of the "gang of four," our scientific and technological forces are not only inadequate but also relatively decentralized. In the arrangement of work there is also the phenomenon of repetition. Meanwhile, there are also new branches of science and technology which urgently require the organization of occupation forces, and there are weak links which urgently need to be strengthened. Faced with this situation, we must pay even more attention to implementing Premier Chou's instructions. The scientific research forces of the whole country should be centrally organized. On the one hand it is necessary to make proper division of work, and on the other hand it is even more important to practice close cooperation. Scientific research, production and user departments should practice division of work and

cooperation. The various scientific research departments, institutions of higher learning and the front rank armies of the various industrial departments should, on the basis of the spirit of coordinating all the activities of the nation as in a chess game, each place individual emphasis on something, make maximum use of its ability and work in close coordination. Unnecessary repetition should be avoided as far as possible. It is necessary to fight a battle of annihilation with concentrated strength. Based on the trend of development of modern science and technology, it is necessary to energetically grasp the key sectors and key points, grasp the pace-setting disciplines, realms or projects, organize forces to attack the pass with concerted effort, make a breakthrough at one point, and lead the whole forward. It is also necessary to learn to "play the piano" [with both hands] and make proper arrangements for other fields. It is particularly necessary to pay attention to combining things far away with those close at hand. It is necessary to pay attention to thoroughly grasping current scientific research projects as well as the exploration of long-range projects. Proper division of work does not mean the division of family assets. It is imperative to strengthen academic exchange, to promote dialog among personnel, and to promote learning from one another for mutual improvement. It is also necessary to follow the instructions of Premier Chou. Those doing basic research must also do some applied research, and those doing applied research must also do some basic research. Equipment calling for great investment should be installed through cooperation. Limited manpower and material and financial resources should be used to promote more projects.

Emphasis on unified leadership, close cooperation and working hard in coordination does not negate the role of individual units and persons. What is required is that each unit and its members display the spirit of the master. We are required to aim high and embrace lofty ambitions, to learn from the people of Ta-ch'ing their revolutionary spirit of starting an undertaking the hard way and their style of "be honest in three respects and strict in four respects." We must combine soaring revolutionary drive with the scientific attitude, stick to our posts, study assiduously, seek ever greater improvement in work, fully bring into play our wisdom and ability, and contribute our maximum strength.

Under the leadership of wise leader Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee, our socialist revolution and construction are now in a new stage of development. /"Science is beset with obstacles, but bitter struggle can pass the test."/ We certainly must hold high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought, firmly implement the line of the 11th party congress, unite as one, work hard in coordination, accelerate the pace of advancing toward the modernization of science and technology, and resolutely fight to achieve the grand goal of the four modernizations before the end of the century. We must realize the demand put forward by Chairman Hua when he made an inspection tour of Ta-ch'ing: /"We must be able to do what other countries have done. We also must be able to do what other countries have not done and do the job even better."/

STORM STRONGHOLDS FOR THE REVOLUTION, WIN GLORY FOR THE MOTHERLAND

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 5 Dec 77 pp 64-66

[Article by Yao Chin-chung [1202 6930 6945] of the Swatow ultrasonic electronic instrument plant, Kwangtung]

[Text] Editor's Note: Thanks to the great concern of wise leader Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee, a spectacular scene is being witnessed on the scientific and technological front throughout the country. It is a gratifying situation for us. We should adhere to the guideline of walking on two legs. We must not only give full play to the role of professional workers but also fully arouse the activism of the masses for participation in scientific research activities. Three articles by worker-peasant scientists and technicians published here are worthy of being studied. They show that mass scientific activities have infinite potentialities and great prospects. So long as we adhere to the correct orientation, strengthen leadership and face any difficulty or obstacle in scientific research without fear, we can produce good results, train people, continuously reach new heights and contribute to socialist revolution and construction.

Thanks to the party's concern and training, I have risen from an ordinary young worker to a technician. For 20 years I have doggedly followed the road of Redness and expertness charted by Chairman Mao, assiduously studied science and technology and vigorously conducted scientific experiments and have gradually acquired knowledge of ultrasonic inspection and testing. Since 1962 I have successively taken charge of the research and manufacture of 15 new products. Ten of them have added to the variety of our ultrasonic inspection and testing equipment. I have done something for the development of our country's ultrasonic techniques.

When I entered the plant in 1957 I had the cultural level of a first-year secondary school student. In the plant I learned how to repair radios and amplifiers. What I saw and touched was mostly foreign-made. This made me feel very bad. I thought that under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Communist Party the Chinese people had stood up. Why couldn't we use our own hands to produce various kinds of instruments and equipment required by the state? I made it my ambition to master radio technology, do my part in socialist construction and win glory for the great motherland.

Because of my poor grounding in cultural and scientific knowledge, every little bit of progress I made in my studies and my work cost me great effort. At first I thought, where there's a will there's a way. I could always achieve what others did with efforts ten times as great! On one occasion it was only with great effort that I solved a parametric problem by working out the numerical value of the relevant elements step by step in light of my own experience. Later I learned that the subject had been taken up in a technical book many years ago, with a computation formula given. I had spent so much energy, only to find that my effort was an unnecessary repetition! This deeply educated me and made me understand that in studying science and technology neither practical experience nor book knowledge can be neglected. Only by laying a solid theoretical foundation can we grasp genuine knowledge as quickly as possible and better accomplish the historical mission of tackling science. I therefore entered a workers sparetime school, determined to crack "the hard nut of culture" and be a socialist-minded and cultured laborer.

In persistently taking up sparetime studies we must make the most of our valuable time. I prepared for myself a work-rest schedule: I was to read English before breakfast and take time out for English exercises during the noon break. After the evening meal I would first spend 1 hour with the English teacher at his home and then rush to the sparetime school for a session lasting 2 hours. Then I was to find time for homework and reading, keeping at it until 11 or 12 at night. I had to keep to the daily schedule, rain or shine, in the intense heat of summer or the severe cold of winter, making no exception for a festive day or a holiday. When I had to go away on business, I always kept my teachers informed and ascertained what was to be studied. On the train I did my reading and in the hotel I did my lessons. Thus, by making use of my spare time, in 4 years I finished 6 years of secondary school. I again used my spare time for 6 years to attend a sparetime college, to study by myself, and to finish such fundamental college courses as the fundamentals of radio technology, higher mathematics, physics, chemistry, English, and so forth.

To make me study better and get better training, my superiors let me participate in the trial manufacture of a new product--the wave indicator--in 1960. The more deeply involved I got in the practical work

of studying and manufacturing new products, the more I felt my own lack of theoretical knowledge and the greater my desire to acquire theoretical knowledge. One technical problem after another which I encountered in practice compelled me to study relevant theoretical knowledge. My study of the fundamentals of ultrasonics began with the experimental manufacture of ultrasonic human body diagnostic devices. In 1962 ultrasonics was still a new science in our country. Special ultrasonic diagnostic devices were then badly needed in liver disease diagnosis. The leadership of the factory put me in charge of research and manufacturing work. I went with the comrades of the research and manufacturing team to hospitals. We obtained ultrasonic diagnostic knowledge from doctors, learned the principles of circuits and studied relevant technical data. After more than half a year of repeated study and repeated practice, we at last trial-produced a sample machine. To test its performance, I brought it to hospitals in Swatow, Canton, Shanghai, Wuhan and other areas and joined doctors in making clinical diagnoses. A large amount of firsthand data was obtained. The device was further improved. Once I personally used the device on a patient suffering from purulent liver ulcer. When I saw the doctor drain pus from the patient's liver, guided by the exact location given, thus relieving the patient's pain, I was filled with indescribable joy!

But I didn't feel complacent. Once I saw a doctor drill a hole in the skull of a patient and use a probe to check the location of a cerebral tumor, giving the patient considerable pain. If a patient could be spared all the pain in the examination by not having his skull opened, it would be fine, I thought. The party organization energetically supported me. I began to study cranial and cerebral diagnosis. With the close cooperation of workers and medical personnel, I at last successfully trial-manufactured an ultrasonic cranial and cerebral diagnostic device. Later I persisted in acquiring theoretical knowledge and applying this to practice. I joined workers and technical personnel in energetically studying and manufacturing new instruments, with the needs of the state taken as our objective of struggle. We continuously worked on solving technical problems related to ultrasonic flaw detection and ultrasonic diagnosis and served national defense, socialist construction and the people's medical and health undertakings. In 1972, to study and manufacture six-channel ultrasonic automatic flaw detection equipment for tubes, I went with the comrades of the trial-manufacturing group to related steel plants to make on-the-spot designs and surveys. At that time manually operated one-channel devices were chiefly used for domestic ultrasonic flaw detection. The masses of metallurgical inspection workers and technical personnel ardently hoped that we could manufacture instruments and equipment fit for high-speed automatic flaw detection. This made me feel doubly conscious of the heavy burden on my shoulders. To quickly change the backward state of flaw detection equipment and meet the needs of the development of our iron and steel industry, I was determined to accelerate the pace of catching up with and surpassing advanced world levels. On my own initiative I suggested

that the flaw detection devices being designed be changed from 6 channels to 10 and that a series of automatic control circuits be added. This was to increase the speed of flaw detection and the degree of automation. Thanks to the energetic help of the workers and technical personnel of the Peking steel plant and by fighting in unity, the comrades of the trial-manufacturing group and I overcame multiple obstacles, from the design of instrument circuits and manufacturing technology to on-the-spot adjustment of gear-drive equipment for instruments and machinery, and successfully turned out 10-channel ultrasonic flaw detectors. After being used on the spot, such instruments were found to be of an advanced technical level. Advanced facilities were thus provided for high-speed automatic flaw detection in our metallurgical industry.

For years I fought, together with other comrades, against the interference and sabotage of the counterrevolutionary revisionist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," doggedly advanced along the road of Redness and expertness charted by Chairman Mao, and kept scoring new achievements.

In 1966 our factory and relevant units jointly undertook a state assignment for the trial production of an ultrasonic defect detector for steel rail welding seams. This detector had to be fitted with transistor circuits instead of the former electronic circuits, so that it could be used for outdoor operations in areas where electricity was not available. I was therefore determined to study the principles of transistor circuits. At this time, however, I was subjected to such charges as "a white and expert model," "an ultrasonic overlord," etc. and to criticism and persecution. This made me feel very miserable. In response to the call of the party and Chairman Mao, I had assiduously studied science and technology for the revolution. What crime had I committed? To change the "poor and blank" backward state of the motherland, I assiduously went on studying and manufacturing new instruments. What kind of "imperial law" had I violated? I once again studied Chairman Mao's teachings on Redness and expertness and looked back over the road I had traversed. I was convinced that I had not erred. Yet I was sometimes troubled by another problem: technical work was really a thankless job. To play safe, I had better wash my hands of it! But the very thought of giving up what I most passionately loved made me hesitate. As I glanced at the design papers on my desk and the circuit equipment being experimented on, I saw in my mind's eye the moving scene of construction being undertaken in all parts of the country. How badly needed were our efforts to accomplish scientific and technological assignments! Not long ago, certain relevant units had delivered to us sample goods from construction sites far away to be tested and had requested that the quality examination problem be solved as quickly as possible. I felt as though the worker comrades' words were still ringing in my ears. Socialist construction calls for technology and so does revolution. I just couldn't drop my research and manufacturing work! I made up my mind. I would rather be humiliated than let the state suffer. While subjected to

criticism, I worked all the harder. Later the "gang of four" vigorously advocated "attack by reasoning, but defend by force," instigated the suspension of work and production and provoked an "all-out civil war." But I went to work every day as usual. I worked late into the night. By fighting in unity with workers and technical personnel, I at last successfully accomplished the trial-production assignments, including transistor ultrasonic flaw detectors and other items.

The grand two-stage blueprint for building a modern and powerful socialist state put forward by esteemed and beloved Premier Chou at the 4th National People's Congress in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions greatly inspired us in our struggle to realize the four modernizations. However, in order to intensify their efforts to usurp party and state power, the "gang of four" spread various fallacies on the scientific and technical front, waved the big stick of "slavish comprador philosophy," and advocated such reactionary fallacies as "when the satellite goes up to the sky, the red flag falls to the ground," "when people have mastered technology, they are taken away from us," etc. They opposed the study and introduction of advanced foreign techniques and opposed the four modernizations. In this situation, we always felt a kind of pressure being put on us. But I visualized the bright picture of a modern and powerful socialist state that Chairman Mao and Premier Chou had drawn for us. I firmly believed that the proletariat needs science and technology and that the dictatorship of the proletariat needs a solid material foundation. Our great motherland must realize the four modernizations. Despite all the outrages of the "four pests" and the murky clouds pressing down on us, I kept up my efforts. At that time the development of ultrasonic detection techniques imposed a new demand on the flaw detector, i.e., quantitative determination. We at last successfully trial-produced an ultrasonic flaw detector giving a quick reading of the size of a flaw. We produced it in large quantities. This was of significance in stimulating the development of the ultrasonic flaw detection technique, from the determination of a flaw to the determination of its magnitude. Last year, in an on-the-spot inspection of imported tubes in a deal with a foreign businessman, something wrong was found with their quality, thanks to the use of this kind of detector. The foreign businessman was compelled to compensate us for our losses. This struggle served to maintain the dignity of the great socialist motherland. It was also a forceful criticism of the "gang of four's" undermining our scientific and technical undertakings.

"Fear not to storm a fortified city. Fear not the difficulties to be overcome in learning from books. All the hazards and obstacles connected with science can be overcome if we fight hard." This from esteemed and beloved Vice Chairman Yeh's poem especially inspired me. Looking back over the road I have traveled, I feel that only by "fearing not to storm a fortified city" and "fearing not the difficulties" and fighting hard with persistence can we overcome all hazards and obstacles, master science and technology and win glory for the motherland.

DISCOVER PROBLEMS IN LARGE FIELDS AND SEEK SOLUTIONS BY EXPERIMENTS IN SMALL PLOTS

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 5 Dec 77 pp 67-69

[Article by Wu Te-pao [0702 1795 0202], peasant technician of Hsiachaishih Commune, Nanhsien County, Hunan]

[Text] I am 31 this year, and I am a senior primary school graduate. Before 1973 I was a production team leader in my brigade and concurrently a deputy secretary of the brigade's party branch. I am enthusiastic about scientific experimentation. In the spring of 1974 I was transferred by the commune party committee to the agricultural science station to become a peasant technician. For the past several years, striving to achieve high yields for the revolution and contribute more to the state, I have worked with the other comrades of the station in carrying out scientific experiments on a regular basis, discovering problems in large fields and solving them by experiments in small plots. Exploring the laws of high grain yield in the course of practice, we have boosted production in large fields with experiments conducted in small plots. The high-yield experimental plot for triple cropping (two crops of rice and one crop of wheat), which is cultivated by me and the other comrades of the scientific research group, covers more than 3 mou. Its yield for 1974 (the first year) was 1 ton per mou; for 1975, 1.2 tons; and for 1976, 1.5 tons. This fulfilled the pledge I made to the party organization: "When I reach 30, grain yield per mou will reach 3,000 catties (1.5 tons)." This year, under the guidance of wise leader Chairman Hua's strategic policy decision of grasping the key link in running the country well, we have raised output further. The per-mou output of unprocessed grain amounted to 3,344 catties. If wheat and soybeans were calculated on the basis of the rice-equivalent, then per-mou output would amount to 3,622 catties.

Our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao taught us: /"To adopt advanced techniques, we must give full play to the wisdom and ingenuity of the Chinese people and conduct scientific experimentation on a large scale."/ Several years of practice in scientific research has made me increasingly

realize that if agriculture is to be developed substantially, high grain yields achieved, and agricultural modernization accomplished, it is essential to undertake scientific research on a grand scale and adopt advanced techniques.

Ever since childhood I have worked in the fields with people of my father's age. I thought that since Chairman Mao led us to stand up and turned over to us the fertile land in the Tungting Lake area, we must exert ourselves to produce more grain to support national socialist construction. However, things went against our wishes. Despite our strenuous efforts from spring to winter, output failed to increase, the per-mou yield being only 600-700 catties a year. Not only were we unable to contribute much to the state, but from time to time we had to buy back grain from the state. How could we avoid letting Chairman Mao down? After I was appointed a production team leader, the low yield caused me even greater anxiety. Was the stagnant grain output due to the lukewarm efforts of the cadres and commune members? No. Was it due to the fact that the soil conditions were poorer than in other places? The answer was also no. The problem lay in the application by our brigade of the same old methods and experience and in its failure to practice scientific farming. To wrest high yields for the revolution, hard work alone is not enough; there must be good skills, too. "With hard work plus good skills, there is no need to worry that output won't increase." But good skills can come only from scientific experimentation; this means we must learn to grow crops the scientific way. When I proposed going in for scientific farming, a number of people voiced their opposition, although the majority supported me ardently. While class enemies were blowing a cold wind, some commune members who were older in age also said sarcastically: "We have tilled the land for decades, with or without science. The old experience and methods can be counted on. If we do it in a different way, beware. Our boat may capsize." Hearing this, I experienced a violent mental struggle. The brigade party branch promptly worked on me, saying: Undertaking scientific experimentation is not only a technical but also an ideological revolution, and there is struggle all along the way.

How should I wage the struggle? I thought that words alone would not be enough, for people must be educated with facts. The peasants were most conscious of practical results, so if we set an example by first producing good results from an experimental plot, they would see them and trust us. Under the leadership of the party branch, I cultivated a high-yield experimental plot in 1968, using fine seeds and making skillful use of manure and water. That year the per-mou output exceeded 1,100 catties--some 400 catties more than in the large fields. This broadened the vision of the cadres and commune members and made them see the many advantages of scientific farming. To turn low yields into high yields, the development of scientific farming was imperative. From that time onward, scientific farming activities developed vigorously in the production teams and in the brigade, with grain output rising year after

year and a backward unit turning into an advanced one. We joined the ranks of advanced counties and brigades in learning from Ta-chai in agriculture.

Scientific farming is necessary for turning low yields into high yields. To boost high yields further, still more reliance must be placed on scientific techniques. Some people say: "Just as few people live to a hundred years, so it is difficult to achieve a thousand catties of grain per mou." Is that really so? Indeed, when the base figure is high, it will be more difficult to raise it further. How can we overcome the difficulty? The key rests with continuing to raise the level of scientific farming. The reason four major steps were achieved in 4 years on our small experimental plot was that we used Mao Tsetung Thought as the guide for our scientific research, and we were not afraid of the repressive measures taken by the "gang of four." We persevered in thoroughly implementing the "eight-word charter" for agriculture and modestly learned from and applied the high-yield experiences of old labor models and outside areas. We attacked the weak links in production and developed scientific farming in a big way. That was why we made such significant progress. When I pledged to the party to produce 3,500 catties per mou early this year, most of the people in the commune said that I was an ambitious man daring to think and act. But the class enemies accused me of "wanting to become a golden phoenix and an official after becoming a model." Those with good intentions also advised me: "To maintain the output of 3,000 catties will be a nice thing. Please don't give yourselves too heavy a load to carry." The enemy's opposition did not surprise me a bit, but the advice from my well-wishers did shake my determination somewhat.

Should I advance against the difficulty or retreat from it? After studying Chairman Mao's writing, "Be an Activist in Promoting the Revolution" and Chairman Hua's article "To Work With Drive Is Valuable," I felt an immediate surge of courage and strength in me. Chairman Mao pointed out: "/In the future China must become the first high-output country in the world."/ If we do not conquer nature and master scientific techniques, but depend on heaven for our food, how can we reach the target indicated by Chairman Mao? How can we realize the four modernizations proposed by Premier Chou at the 4th National People's Congress? After combating the selfish ideas in my head, I resolved to roll up my sleeves and go in for scientific farming to create a new record high output, to support Chairman Hua and relentlessly criticize the "gang of four."

Any substantial increase in agricultural output must be preceded by the application of scientific techniques. How can we successfully wage the battle to master scientific techniques? As members of the commune's agricultural science station, we must serve as good staff officers to the commune party committee with regard to agricultural science and technology. Our suggestions must be practical and workable. This requires that agricultural research activities of our station be

conducted in relation to the difficult production problems, not in isolation from them. For the past few years since the station was established we have, under the leadership of the party branch, consistently conducted scientific research activities in relation to production realities, discovering problems in large fields and then seeking solutions to them by conducting experiments in small plots. Difficult problems arising from large-field production are given the main emphasis in our scientific research, and we see to it that small plots serve large fields and that the agricultural science station serves agricultural production. Over the past years, with a view to growing more grain for the state, we have effected changes in the farming system in the lake area. In the past we used to grow only two crops of paddy rice; now we have added one crop of wheat in the winter, thus harvesting three crops--one crop of wheat and two crops of early and late rice, respectively. The switch from double-cropping to triple-cropping created a series of contradictions with respect to time and seasons, manpower and material resources. Two particularly acute problems hindered the development of the triple-cropping system. One was wheat scab, and the other was the mutual conflict for land and season between the wheat and rice crops. So our scientific research group took these two difficult problems from the large fields to the small plots, where we tried to solve them by experiments.

First, we tackled the problem of wheat scab. In the lake area the water table is high, and when spring comes the temperature is low and the weather is cloudy and rainy. With high humidity for wheat grown in paddy fields, the scab could spread most rapidly and pose the biggest threat to wheat at its earing and flowering stages. People used to call it an "incurable disease." Is it really incurable? In the course of the experiment, apart from using highly resistant, fine wheat strains and switching from direct sowing to transplanting in order to advance the season, we kept a constant watch over the growth of the wheat seedlings. No matter whether cold wind blew or whether it rained or snowed, we went to the small plots and large fields several times every day to take a look at the wheat seedlings. We saw that when wheat seedlings had been trampled and wheat plants were located in places near ditches and with good soil aeration, their roots were rather well developed. The plants were robust and less affected by disease. Our study showed that because their roots were developed, they absorbed sufficient nutrients. This was the reason the plants were strong and highly resistant to disease. An old saying goes: "Roots are important. Only when the roots are deep will the foliage flourish." According to this truth, when growing wheat last winter, we concentrated our efforts on "roots." Using a great variety of methods, such as promoting the growth of roots by tamping the wheat plants, letting the roots strike deep by opening ditches and lowering the water level, and fostering strong roots by deep plowing and applying additional manure, we sought to radically prevent and cure the wheat scab. Meanwhile, we also closely watched the changes in the diseased condition of the wheat. In April-May this year, rains and low temperature continued for more than 20 days, causing a serious eruption

of the scab. Controlling it with drugs and working hard day and night, we finally cured this "incurable disease." The number of plants affected by the scab in the small plots this year dropped from 60 percent the year before last to 1.65 percent. The per-mou output of wheat also rose from 606 catties last year to 745 catties. The 17 mou of wheat under the care of the demonstration team were also lightly affected by the disease, while per-mou output reached 303 catties. With the wheat scab brought under initial control, the masses became confident of growing wheat in rice fields.

Secondly, with the scab brought under control, how are we to solve the conflict for season and land between the wheat and rice crops? Since the wheat crop can be harvested no earlier than late May, the early rice seedlings grown in wheat fields have to be transplanted more than 20 days later than those for green manure fields. The season waits for no one. A delay of more than 20 days could adversely affect not only the high yield of early rice but also the early transplanting of late rice. If the late rice seedlings were transplanted late, they could be easily harmed by the regular "cold dew and wind" at their earing and flowering stages. What was to be done? Taking reality into account, the comrades of the scientific research group and I studied "On Contradiction" in search of ways to transform the contradiction. We also seriously studied the experiences of the labor model Li Kuang-ching and of Kiangsu. In the light of farming practice in our own area, we replaced the one-period seedling cultivation method with a two-period seedling cultivation method. Although we cannot stretch out 1 day into 2 days, by doing so we may have time for the seedling plot and ease the conflict for land and season between the wheat and rice crops. For early and late rice in our small plots, we practice sparse sowing in order to have strong seedlings. When the seedlings mature, they are immediately transplanted to the large fields on a temporary basis, and the period of their vegetative growth is extended, thus solving the conflict for nutrients and light among the seedlings. Generally the early and late rice seedlings may be so transplanted for about 20 days, thus not only facilitating crop rotation but also solving the conflict for land and season. After the wheat crop is harvested on a crash basis, these seedlings will then be moved with the mud to the small plots.

After they are transplanted, they will be put under intensive care, and manure and water will be skillfully applied with an eye to high yields. Even though the weather has been rather inclement this year, since we have taken advantage of the season and persevered in scientific farming, the average per-mou output of early rice in the small plots reached 1,201 catties, while that of late rice reached 1,159 catties. On the large fields under the demonstration team, the quarterly per-mou output of early rice surpassed the target laid down in the national agricultural program, while the per-mou output of late rice exceeded 700 catties. If high yields can be achieved for the triple-cropping system on the small plots and large fields of the agricultural science station, there is no

reason they cannot be achieved in the fields of the entire commune, since the conditions there are, on the whole, similar. From our small plots the masses saw the direction and established their confidence. The acreage of rice fields sown to wheat in the entire commune has risen sharply, from 300 mou the year before last to more than 3,900 mou this year. The triple-cropping system has been extended throughout the commune. The masses praise our agricultural science station as a good staff office to the commune party committee. The practice of struggle has enabled us to realize that if we are to master scientific techniques successfully, the agricultural science station must conduct its scientific research in relation to production, insisting that small plots serve large fields and that scientific research serve production.

For the last 3 years the comrades of the station and I have, with revolutionary and death-defying spirit, successively carried out 80 scientific experiments aimed at solving the difficult problems raised by the masses in big-field production. We have filled more than 140 notebooks with our notes. Of these experiments, 44 yielded results of scientific value. Moreover, we have discovered much information concerning pests. As we have unfolded scientific research and initially accumulated some experience with respect to the triple-cropping system, the two-period seedling cultivation method, the application of green manure and the prevention and cure of diseases and pests, we have pushed forward the development of agricultural science throughout the commune. To date the commune has set up more than 120 agricultural science teams and groups. A contingent of more than 370 peasant scientists and technicians is also growing up rapidly in the course of struggle.

Although we have achieved some results in scientific research in agriculture under the leadership of the party over the past several years, there still are many problems that await our study. There is no end to revolution and no peak to production. We are determined from now on to closely follow our wise leader Chairman Hua and to continue to scale new heights in scientific farming and fight hard for the realization of agricultural modernization under the guidance of the line set by the 11th party congress.

SPARETIME SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH HOLDS GREAT PROMISE

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 5 Dec 77 pp 69-71

[Article by Tuan Yuan-hsing [3008 0337 2502], an educated youth who settled in the rural areas of Ningtu County, Kiangsi]

[Text] I left school in 1968 and went to the rural areas to join a brigade and settle down there. Ever since then I have been persevering in sparetime astronomical research. At 1935 hours Peking time on 30 August 1975 I discovered a new star in Cygnus by means of independent visual observation. For this I was given serious attention and encouragement by the party and the people. Practice has made me realize that if one seriously persists and arduously climbs new heights, one can also, in the course of scientific research, /"discover, invent, create and advance."/

Looking back on the road I have traveled, I see that for sparetime scientific research one must set an ambitious goal and be resolved to contribute his strength to the scientific enterprise of the mother country. Since my childhood I have been attracted to astronomy. When I was in the 4th grade of primary school I began to read books on common astronomical knowledge and recognized the Dipper. Nevertheless, my attraction to astronomy in this period was merely a result of my curiosity about the mystery of the universe. Later, as I gained in astronomical knowledge, I perceived more and more the importance of astronomy. Astronomy is one of the six major fundamental sciences. In an era of astronavigation and broader exploration of the secrets of the universe, astronomy reveals vast prospects. Its role in the development of all the natural sciences is claiming increasingly serious attention. I have looked up some materials concerning the history of the development of astronomy. While I feel proud of the brilliant achievements made in astronomy in ancient China, I am also angry at the backwardness of modern China's astronomy as a result of reactionary rule and imperialist aggression. I thought that with the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Communist Party and with the superior socialist system, China's astronomy ought to quickly catch up with and surpass the advanced world level. So I made up my mind

to dedicate my life and contribute my all to China's astronomical undertakings, to the bright future of mankind. In April of 1970 came the happy news of China's first manmade satellite going up to the sky. While listening to the music "The East Is Red" broadcast from the satellite, I gazed at the satellite with the astronomical telescope I had made, roaming the skies. I wrote down my thoughts in a diary: "In cold winter or in hot summer I have watched the heavenly phenomena with all my heart--and for so many years. I only hope that as long as I am alive I can do more and win glory for my mother country!"

To make a success of sparetime scientific research, one must possess a certain amount of scientific knowledge. Science is a practical subject, and it must be honestly studied and researched. There is no room at all for hypocrisy. To master the fundamental knowledge of astronomy, I began in my middle school days to accumulate my astronomical knowledge. For the past 16 years, from school to the rural areas, I have again and again studied Engels' "Dialectics of Nature" and Chairman Mao's brilliant works, such as "On Practice" and "On Contradiction." I have read a great number of astronomical books, including "A Brief History of Astronomy" and "Courses of Astronomy." I have filled more than 40 notebooks with notes. To build up my personal library, I used all the pocket money my parents gave me to buy books on astronomy. I borrowed most of the books on astronomy from the Ningtu middle school and the county library and copied down extracts from them. I also wrote regularly to the Peking Observatory asking for their guidance. Press reports relating to astronomy did not escape my attention either; whenever I discovered them, I would clip them out. I even carefully looked at the waste paper used to wrap up goods to see if it contained an item on astronomy. These I read whenever I could. When I was in middle school there was a period in which the school had no lights because the power plant suspended operations to allow for overhaul and repair of its machinery. So I went to the lobby of the movie theater to read my books. To raise my computing ability, I studied mathematical knowledge, such as the spherical triangle, on my own. When I came across a mountain, I would often raise my fingers and draw in the air, trying to figure out its height. When I saw a river, I would throw a stone into it and figure out its depth. Observation of heavenly phenomena could not be carried out without a telescope, and in senior middle school class 1, with the assistance of the school, I used strawboard and made myself an astronomical telescope with a magnifying power of 15 times. All these actions created the necessary conditions for me to engage in sparetime astronomical research.

If one wants to produce fruitful results in sparetime scientific research, one must not be afraid of difficulties or setbacks. One must be persistent. The most fundamental means of studying astronomy is to carry out observations of heavenly phenomena. Starting from practical conditions, I set for myself four items for observation: 1) Observation of meteors and the meteoric stream; 2) observation of the irregular variable stars; 3) the search for new stars; and 4) discovery of a comet. "The

starry sky is my constant friend. If I didn't gaze at it for one night, it would seem as though I had not gazed at it for 3 years." Whether I was in school or in the countryside, I would not lightly miss one starry sky that could be observed. For months and years I have been observing the heavenly phenomena. On summer nights I do so despite the suffocating heat and mosquito bites; on winter nights I am not afraid of the cold wind that pierces one's bones. During the 6 years in middle school alone I observed 642 starry nights; on 127 such occasions I did so just before dawn. I visually observed 391 meteors, 15 variable stars and the man-made earth satellites 60 times. My recorded data on heavenly phenomena amounted to 100,000 words. After I arrived in the rural areas, and particularly after I became a teacher in a people-operated school, I was rather busy in my work and also had to attend to daily chores. But I managed to arrange my timetable scientifically, raise my work efficiency and squeeze out time to observe heavenly phenomena. Learning a way of making notes in the dark, I quickly jotted down the changes in the starry sky. To observe heavenly phenomena, I persevered in fighting difficulties. However busy I was and however great the difficulties, I still managed to conduct my observations.

A serious flood occurred in Ningtu County in the autumn of 1962. For 5 consecutive days and nights a rainstorm raged. On the night of the 6th day, stars suddenly appeared in the sky. As the floodwater had not receded, it was impossible for me to go out to conduct observations. So from the window of my room on the upper floor I stretched out half of my body and had been observing the sky continuously for several hours when I spotted two rarely seen meteors that appeared in the direction of the constellation Equuleus. In late October 1965 I fell ill and was confined to bed. From reference materials I learned that a meteoric stream of Orion was about to appear. To prove and study this phenomenon, I persisted in making observations on several starry nights, even though I was sick. At last I recorded the time of the appearance of this meteoric stream, its position and brightness. I then made a report on my observation to the specialized astronomical research agency.

Some people laughed at my observing the movement of stars and studying their variations day after day and year after year. They said: "We can't even do things well on the earth, and you think of things in heaven. Have you become infatuated with the moon?" Others simply said I might have gone "crazy." When my parents heard such remarks, they, too, often said to me: "Learning trade skills is the concern of everyone, but learning astronomy is the concern of the state. What's the point of thinking about those elusive things?" Faced with this resistance and opposition, I didn't waver in the least. Instead, I always patiently said to my parents and those around me: "Sparetime astronomical observation is a necessary supplement to the specialized research agency. Since the starry sky is so vast, it is not enough to rely on the specialized agency alone in mastering the movement and changes of the planets. This can be done only if we have hundreds of thousands of sparetime

heaven-watchers." It cannot be all smooth sailing in conducting scientific research, and failures will occur frequently. For instance, once, in accordance with my observation and analysis over a period of time, I concluded that there might be signs pointing to the existence of "a meteoric stream in the constellation Ophiuchus." So I immediately made an observation report to the relevant department. Some time later my report was rejected and returned to me. Two similar incidents occurred later on. But this failure did not make me lose heart; rather, I summed up experience from it. Whenever I reminded myself of Marx' teaching that /"there is no flat road in science, and those who defy hardships to climb the rugged mountain path can hope to reach the glorious summit,"/ I gained new strength in the face of setbacks.

In 1975 esteemed and beloved Premier Chou, in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions, put forward at the 4th National People's Congress a militant call for attaining the four modernizations in our country before the end of the present century. This encouraged me to forge ahead bravely along the road of sparetime astronomical research. However, the evil "gang of four," motivated by their criminal goal of restoring capitalism, wildly attacked the four modernizations and maligned the study of science and technology as "taking the white and expert road." It has always been my belief that a revolutionary youth must not only have the good idea of serving the people but must also strive to take up vocational research and grasp real skills of serving the people. Shouting slogans alone--without taking up study of science and technology--will only make an empty phrase out of the four modernizations. Despite what the "gang of four" said, I stepped up my astronomical research both in theory and in practice. Once again I improved the telescope that I had made and continued to carry out observations of the heavenly phenomena without a stop. At last I discovered a new star.

Over the past several years, with the party's concern and encouragement, I have persisted in observing heavenly phenomena and conducting spare-time astronomical research. At the same time, I have turned my attention to offering what scientific knowledge I have to socialist construction in the countryside. In ordinary times I impart the common knowledge of astronomy to the masses in the political evening school and explain some heavenly phenomena to them. This helps break down superstitious notions among a small number of people, as well as prevents class enemies from using astronomical phenomena to create rumors and carry out sabotage. I also explain to the masses the principles governing the 24 seasonal periods and simple methods of computation, and I have started some activities that directly serve agricultural production. For instance, after extensively collecting weather proverbs among the people and making use of indigenous equipment such as "leech bottles," I set up a "small meteorological station." From the observation of wind and clouds, we issue prompt warnings of inclement weather. This has helped the production teams prevent rotting of early rice seedlings over the years. I have also made use of the telescope, the sextant and other apparatuses

that I made to help the brigade draw maps showing the boundary lines of forests and to work out plans to transform low-yield fields. Working according to these plans, the commune members transformed more than 300 mou of low-yield fields in one winter and spring. All of these activities have not only enriched my practical knowledge but also enabled me to serve the people directly with my sparetime scientific research activities, which are appreciated by the vast numbers of cadres and people.

Today the wise leader Chairman Hua has led the whole party to crush the "gang of four" with one blow and thus remove a big obstacle to the development of China's science. My determination to study astronomy for the revolution and my energy have become still greater. I must modestly take the achievements already made as a new starting point. I am continuing my sparetime study of astronomy. I have started drawing a large star map and persisted in carrying out observations of heavenly phenomena. I am resolved to scale new heights of science and technology, striving to make new achievements in astronomical research so as to win glory for the socialist mother country and for Chairman Hua.

THE ROAD OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION AND THE 'NEW CONSTITUTION' OF THE SOVIET UNION

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[Article by Shen Ta-kung [3947 1129 0342]]

[Text] On the eve of the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution, the Soviet revisionist Brezhnev clique dished out a "new constitution." Waving the banner of commemorating the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution, they set all their propaganda machines in motion, bragging preposterously that this constitution "fulfills" "Lenin's behests," inherits the "ideas and principles of the 1918 Constitution of Soviet Russia, the 1924 Constitution of the Soviet Union, and the 1936 Constitution of the Soviet Union," is "the concentrated result of the development of the Soviet state over the past 60 years," and so forth. These renegades who have thrown Lenin's banner overboard and given up the socialist cause nevertheless have the audacity to parade as the inheritors of the cause of the October Revolution! Let us briefly review the three constitutions promulgated by the Soviet Union since the October Revolution and the road it has traversed, closely examine the substance of this "new constitution" and the background regarding its release, and see whether it inherits or betrays the road of the October Revolution.

THE FIRST THREE CONSTITUTIONS OF THE SOVIET UNION ADHERED TO THE ROAD OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

The October Revolution turned the scientific theory of communism founded by Marx and Engels into reality in the form of the first socialist country under the dictatorship of the proletariat, thereby ushering in a new era in the history of mankind. The road of the October Revolution was the one by which the proletariat established its dictatorship through violent revolution. In order to defend the fruits of the October Revolution and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Soviet Union under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin promulgated three socialist constitutions.

In July 1918, 2 years after the victory of the October Revolution, the Fifth Congress of the All-Russia Soviets, presided over by Lenin, adopted a constitution of the Russian Federated Socialist Republic. This was the first fundamental law for a country of proletarian dictatorship in the history of mankind. The constitution proclaimed "Russia as the Soviet republic of deputies of workers, soldiers and peasants," and provided for the establishment of "the dictatorship of the proletariat and poor peasants in town and country" with a view to "thoroughly suppressing the bourgeoisie and eliminating the exploitation of man by man." The Constitution also stipulated: All the land, forests, rivers, etc., were state property.

In direct language, this constitution affirmed the great revolution which expropriated the expropriators. It affirmed the fact that the proletarian state replaced the bourgeois state and proletarian democracy replaced bourgeois democracy. In the form of state law, it consolidated the fruits of the October Revolution. After the adoption of this **constitution**, Lenin said with infinite joy: "NOW WE HAVE A SOVIET CONSTITUTION. WE KNOW THAT THIS SOVIET CONSTITUTION, PASSED IN JULY, IS NOT SOMETHING CONJURED UP BY A CERTAIN COMMITTEE OR FABRICATED BY JURISTS, NOR IS IT COPIED FROM OTHER CONSTITUTIONS. THE WORLD HAS NEVER HAD SUCH A CONSTITUTION AS THIS BEFORE. THIS CONSTITUTION RECORDS THE EXPERIENCES OF THE PROLETARIAN MASSES IN THEIR STRUGGLE AGAINST EXPLOITERS AT HOME AND THROUGHOUT THE WORLD AS WELL AS THEIR ORGANIZATIONAL EXPERIENCES." (Lenin: The Collected Works, "The Sixth Extraordinary Congress of the All-Russia Soviets of Deputies of Workers, Peasants, Cossacks and the Red Army," Vol XXVIII, p 129).

In January 1924, the fundamental law of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was passed. This was the second constitution in the history of the Soviet Union.

In the 5 years or so after the promulgation of the first constitution, Soviet Russia led by Lenin won great victories in opposing foreign armed intervention and in the civil war through bloody and heroic struggles, and effected the change from the policy of military communism to the New Economic Policy. Yet another achievement of historical significance in this period was the great victory won by Lenin's nationalities policy. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics composed voluntarily of four national Soviet republics came into being toward the end of 1922. The 1924 Constitution of the Soviet Union legislatively confirmed the fact that the various equal Soviet republics formed a united state of their own accord. It provided the laboring people of the whole world with a shining example of settling national problems on the basis of proletarian internationalism and in the spirit of equality and friendship among all nations. It further consolidated the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union and assured the smooth progress of socialist industrialization and agricultural collectivization.

In November 1936, the Eighth Congress of Soviets approved a new constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, more commonly known as the Stalin constitution. This was the third constitution in the history of the Soviet Union.

In the 12 years from 1924 to 1936, Stalin, the great Marxist, inherited Lenin's behests and led the Soviet people to continue to march along the socialist road, basically complete the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production and at the same time win great victory in socialist construction, thereby enabling the social outlook of the Soviet Union to undergo tremendous changes. The 1936 constitution proclaimed that "the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a socialist state of workers and peasants." It pointed out that the soviets of deputies of laborers as the foundation of the political power of the Soviet Union "have been promoted and consolidated after overthrowing the political power of the landlords and capitalists and securing the dictatorship of the proletariat." The constitution also stipulated that "the economic basis of the Soviet Union consists of the socialist economic system and the socialist ownership of the instruments and means of production, which are established after the abolition of the capitalist economic system, the abolition of private ownership of the instruments and means of production and the wiping out of exploitation of man by man." Even though Stalin in his report on the draft constitution mistakenly and prematurely announced that "mutually antagonistic classes no longer exist" in the Soviet Union, the constitution formulated under his leadership still adhered to the proletarian dictatorship and socialist orientation. The 1936 constitution had its lasting significance as the fundamental law of the proletarian state for the realization of the socialist ownership of the means of production.

However, the road of historical development is tortuous. After the careerist and conspirator Khrushchev, who had hidden in the Soviet Communist Party, usurped the supreme leadership power of the Soviet party and state, basic changes occurred in the nature of the Soviet party and state and a major regression took place in the development of the history of the Soviet Union. Brezhnev, who succeeded Khrushchev, completely inherited the latter's mantle. Internally, he further restored capitalism and externally, he further pursued the policies of expansion and aggression, contending with U.S. imperialism for world hegemony and completing the evolution of the Soviet Union from the restoration of capitalism to becoming a social imperialist country.

Looking back at the history of the 60 years of the Soviet Union since the October Revolution one sees clear distinctions between the first and the second stages. The history of the first stage is one in which Lenin and Stalin firmly adhered to the dictatorship of the proletariat and led the Soviet people to consolidate and develop the gains of the October Revolution and push the socialist cause unceasingly forward. It was a period of great socialist revolution and construction in the history of the Soviet Union, a shining page in the history of mankind. The history of the Soviet Union since the rise to power of the Khrushchev-Brezhnev clique has been a criminal history of restoration of capitalism, a history in which the first socialist country of proletarian dictatorship degenerated into a social imperialist country under the dictatorship of the bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie. It is a dark, reactionary period in Soviet history.

Marxism always maintains that a constitution is the expression of the will of the ruling class which has won its victory and holds political power in its grip. If one says that the first three constitutions of the Soviet Union reflected the new-type socialist production relations and were "THE SUMMATION OF THE ROAD THAT HAS BEEN TRAVERSED BY THE SOVIET UNION" (Stalin: Problems on Leninism, "On the Draft Constitution of the Soviet Union," p 608), then the "new constitution" spewed out by the Brezhnev clique is an expression of the will of the bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie in the Soviet Union, an evil result and a shameful record of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union since the rise of Khrushchev. In no way is it a continuation and development of the three constitutions of proletarian dictatorship in the history of the Soviet Union, but their very opposite. In no way does it fulfill Lenin's behests; instead, it takes over the mantles of all revisionists, old and new. Instead of inheriting the road of the October Revolution, it totally betrays the Great October Revolution.

REFUTING THE THEORETICAL BASIS OF THE "NEW CONSTITUTION"--BREZHNEV'S "DEVELOPED SOCIALISM"

In order to create a theoretical basis for the "new constitution" the Soviet revisionist renegade clique flaunted the banner of so-called "developed socialism." The "new constitution" declares in its preamble: "A developed socialist society has been built in the USSR." "Developed socialist society is an objectively necessary stage on the road to communism." Brezhnev himself set the tune at the Supreme Soviet session, presenting this constitution as the "law of life" and "fundamental law" of "developed socialist society." Then came the ballyhoo in the Soviet press, which described the "new constitution" as the "genuine declaration of developed socialism." Faced with such bragging by the Soviet revisionist leading clique, people cannot but ask: What, after all, is their "developed socialist society"?

"Developed socialism" as trumpeted by the Soviet revisionists is no more than a fig-leaf used by Brezhnev to cover up the bankruptcy of Khrushchev's phoney communism. As everyone knows, Khrushchev at the 22d CPSU Congress held in 1961 shamelessly declared that a communist society would be built basically within 20 years. However, Khrushchev fell less than 3 years after the release of this plan for phoney communism. [paragraph continues]

After Brezhnev ascended to power in 1964, he continued to push the line set by the 20th and 22d CPSU congresses, energetically promoting Khrushchevism without Khrushchev. But as restoration of capitalism by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique caused the Soviet people to suffer immense hardships, Khrushchev's phoney communism lost its deceptive appeal. Brezhnev, afraid that he might be placed in a passive position if he continued to carry this burden, took advantage of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution in 1967 to suddenly announce that the Soviet Union had built a "developed socialist society" in order to replace Khrushchev's notorious phoney communism and to continue to deceive the Soviet people and the people of the world.

Ten years have elapsed since Brezhnev tossed out the slogan "Developed Socialism," but for a long time opinions have been divided both within the Soviet revisionist leading clique and in theoretical circles over what "developed socialist society" really means. Not until a "new constitution" was concocted has there emerged a consensus. According to the relevant articles of the Soviet "new constitution" and the explanations offered by Brezhnev in his report on the revision of the constitution, the so-called "developed socialist society" is a society with "powerful productive forces" and "mature socialist relations," a society "already formed by the Soviet people" where the various classes and national groups "are approaching with each passing day" "a new historical community of men," and a society in which "the task of the proletarian dictatorship has been completed and the state of the whole people established." Speaking at the Supreme Soviet session on 4 October this year, Brezhnev still pretentiously cited sources to prove that as early as during the first few years after the October Revolution Lenin had presented such a society as the "future" of the Soviet state and the "goals of socialist construction."

Did Lenin really mention such "developed socialist society" which abolished the dictatorship of the proletariat? No. This was pure and simple fabrication.

Lenin, as our research shows, did refer to a developed socialist society following the victory of the October Revolution. But he mentioned the developed socialist society only in relation to the socialist society at the time when its foundation was still insecure as victory had barely been won in the revolution. In his writings, Lenin did not exclusively "discuss" developed socialist society, nor did he mention the stage of "developed socialism"--in which there were no classes and class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat could be abolished--as an essential stage for the transition from capitalism to communism. On the contrary, in his teachings on scientific socialism Lenin always treated persistent adherence to the dictatorship of the proletariat as a fundamental question and repeatedly stressed it. The complete theory of the indivisibility of socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat was Lenin's colossal contribution to the Marxist theory of the state; it was the quintessence of Leninism. It was entirely futile for the Soviet revisionist renegades to search for a basis in Lenin's writing for their "developed socialism." What they would have received from Lenin could only have been ruthless condemnation, not a straw or even half of it for a foundation.

In his splendid work "The State and Revolution" Lenin incisively pointed out: "OPPORTUNISM DOES NOT EXTEND THE RECOGNITION OF CLASS STRUGGLE TO WHAT IS THE CARDINAL POINT, TO THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION FROM CAPITALISM TO COMMUNISM, TO THE PERIOD OF THE OVERTHROW AND THE COMPLETE ABOLITION OF THE BOURGEOISIE. IN REALITY, THIS PERIOD IS INEVITABLY A PERIOD OF UNPRECEDENTEDLY VIOLENT CLASS STRUGGLE IN UNPRECEDENTEDLY ACUTE FORMS AND, CONSEQUENTLY, DURING THIS PERIOD THE STATE MUST INEVITABLY BE A STATE THAT IS DEMOCRATIC IN A NEW WAY (FOR THE PROLETARIAT AND THE PROPERTYLESS IN GENERAL) AND DICTATORIAL IN A NEW WAY (AGAINST THE BOURGEOISIE)."

Lenin then went on: "THE ESSENCE OF MARX' TEACHING ON THE STATE HAS BEEN MASTERED ONLY BY THOSE WHO UNDERSTAND THAT THE DICTATORSHIP OF A SINGLE CLASS IS NECESSARY NOT ONLY FOR EVERY CLASS SOCIETY IN GENERAL, NOT ONLY FOR THE PROLETARIAT WHICH HAS OVERTHROWN THE BOURGEOISIE, BUT ALSO FOR THE ENTIRE HISTORICAL PERIOD WHICH SEPARATES CAPITALISM FROM 'CLASSLESS SOCIETY,' FROM COMMUNISM."

Lenin also pointed out emphatically: "THE TRANSITION FROM CAPITALISM TO COMMUNISM CERTAINLY CANNOT BUT YIELD A TREMENDOUS ABUNDANCE AND VARIETY OF POLITICAL FORMS, BUT THE ESSENCE WILL INEVITABLY BE THE SAME: THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT." (Lenin: Selected Works, "The State and Revolution," Vol III, p 200).

Do these teachings of Lenin not clearly show that class contradictions and struggle exist throughout the entire historical period of socialism before communist society comes into being? Do they not clearly indicate that the dictatorship of the proletariat is necessary for the entire period of the transition from capitalism to communism? Do they not clearly point out that the state in this period can only be a state under the dictatorship of the proletariat? From these teachings of Lenin we can clearly see that no matter how "developed" socialism is, as long as communism has yet to be realized and the state has yet to be extinguished, it is necessary to maintain the dictatorship of the proletariat. There is not and cannot be anything like "developed" socialism without the dictatorship of the proletariat. Socialism that abolishes the dictatorship of the proletariat is definitely not Marxist-Leninist, scientific socialism. The fact that Brezhnev and company dished up such a "developed socialism," described it as the "objectively necessary stage" on the road to communism and openly wrote it into the constitution can only prove once more their total betrayal of Marxism-Leninism. It can only prove once more that under the rule of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, Soviet society has been degenerating for a long time. It has long since ceased to be a socialist society established according to the Marxist-Leninist, scientific theory. It is phoney socialism, false socialism and imperialism draped in the cloak of socialism.

As for "the historical community of men" which is trumpeted in the "new constitution" by Brezhnev and company as an important mark of "developed socialist society," and also with regard to "the state of the whole people" which is taken as the "political superstructure" of this society, these are not new things. "The state of the whole people" is sinister stuff of Khrushchev that has long been discredited by the world's Marxists. Nor is "the historical community of men" an "invention" of Brezhnev. As early as at the 22d CPSU Congress in 1961 in his report "on the CPSU Program" Khrushchev alleged that "in the Soviet Union there has been formed a new historical community of people of different nationalities which have common characteristics, i.e., the Soviet people." Picking up this tattered ware of Khrushchev, Brezhnev inserted it into the "new constitution" almost without refurbishing it in any way.

In spewing out this so-called "historical community of men," the Soviet revisionist renegade clique also theoretically opposed Marxism-Leninism in its entirety. When talking about the community of men, classical writers of Marxism always linked it with communism. For instance, in his book "Principles of Communism" Engels discussed the disappearance of the three major differences between workers and peasants, between town and country and between physical and mental labor in the future communist society, and mentioned "THE COMMUNITY COMPOSED OF ALL MEMBERS OF SOCIETY." (Marx and Engels: Collected Works, Vol IV, p 371). Here Engels stated very clearly that such a "COMMUNITY COMPOSED OF ALL MEMBERS OF SOCIETY" could only be formed at the highest stage of communism. In the preliminary stage of communist society, i.e., the socialist stage, as "IT IS IN EVERY RESPECT, ECONOMICALLY, MORALLY AND INTELLECTUALLY, STILL STAMPED WITH THE BIRTH MARKS OF THE OLD SOCIETY FROM WHOSE WOMB IT EMERGES" (Marx and Lenin: Collected Works, "Critique of the Gotha Program," Vol XIX, p 21), and as there still exist classes, class contradictions and class struggle, it is impossible to form such a "community." [paragraph continues]

When people like Khrushchev and Brezhnev clamored that a "historical community of men" had been formed in Soviet society where capitalism has been restored and class contradictions have again aggravated, this is nothing but humbug.

The abolition of classes is the most formidable, most complicated and most difficult task in the history of mankind. After the October Revolution, Lenin, in the light of the new experiences of the Soviet state, pointed out many times that the abolition of **classes** called for a protracted, difficult and tenacious struggle. Lenin also stated that as long as the historical period of transition from capitalism to communism had not been concluded, "THE EXPLOITERS WILL SURELY ENTERTAIN HOPES FOR RESTORATION AND THEY WILL TURN SUCH HOPES INTO ACTION FOR RESTORATION." (Lenin: Selected Works, "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky," Vol III, p 640). On the basis of the practical experience of China's socialist revolution and the historical lesson drawn from the degeneration of the Soviet Union, great leader Chairman Mao further pointed out: The socialist society covers a fairly long historical stage. Throughout this stage, there exist classes, class contradictions and class struggle, the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads, the danger of restoration of capitalism, and the threat of subversion and aggression by imperialism and social imperialism. The shining thesis of Chairman Mao develops Lenin's thinking, profoundly reveals the law governing the development of socialist society and illuminates the road for the advance of the revolutionary people the world over. At the same time it also thoroughly refutes such revisionist fallacies as "the historical community of men" and "the state of the whole people" spread by Khrushchev, Brezhnev and the like. It is entirely futile for the Brezhnev clique to use this fallacy of "community" to cover up the daily sharpening class and national contradictions at home. In concocting the "new constitution," Brezhnev was unable to produce anything decent and he could only live on the garbage discarded by his predecessor Khrushchev. Such utter theoretical poverty precisely shows the decadence and doom of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique.

WHAT IS THE SO-CALLED "FUNDAMENTAL LAW OF DEVELOPED SOCIALIST SOCIETY?"

This "new constitution" of the Soviet revisionists is divided into nine major parts, 21 chapters and 174 articles, totaling several tens of thousands of words. Complex in **content**, it is long and stinking. But if we analyze it just a little, it is not difficult to see that the most important things are its preamble and the first part, "The basis of social system and political basis of the Soviet Union." The former is its theoretical basis, and we have criticized it in the foregoing passages. The latter is its general program. If only people grasp the main content of this general program and deeply assess it in the light of the realities of the Soviet Union today, they will be able to see beyond the complicated clauses to its real substance.

1. Fascist dictatorship behind the signboard of "the state of the whole people."

In the first part of the "new constitution," Chapter I, "The Political System" begins with its first article clearly stating that "the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a socialist state of the whole people." Brezhnev and the Soviet revisionist theorists raised a hue and cry that this "state of the whole people" represents the entire Soviet people. Within this "state of the whole people," "antagonisms between classes and enmities between nations" "have forever been banished," "all social strata" and "all nations" have "drawn closer to each other," "social homogeneity" has been "strengthened," "genuine democracy" has been realized, and so on and so forth. A picture of the "whole people" characterized by unity, fraternity and harmony has been drawn. In addition, Brezhnev declared that this "state of the whole people" "is progressively turning into a communist, self-managed society." If Soviet society has become such a beautiful wonderland, it stands to reason that the state should begin to vanish or at least, following the loss of its function to suppress hostile classes inside the country, the apparatus of dictatorship should be greatly weakened and that the constitution and law as the concentrated expression of the will of the ruling class also should fast be entering the historical museum.

However, a look at the realities inside the Soviet Union today reveals the conditions are totally different. Since the Soviet revisionist renegade clique declared that the Soviet Union had become "a state of the whole people," the state machine, instead of showing any sign of "vanishing," has grown larger and more powerful. Apart from having more than 4 million troops armed to the teeth, full-time agents fed by the "Committee for State Security" (KGB) are scattered all over the country to keep a constant watch over the population. The size of the Soviet police is also growing fast and it has the most sophisticated reconnaissance, communications and surveillance equipment. According to reports, the Soviet Union has more than a thousand "labor reform camps" in addition to a large number of "mental institutions" for the persecution of "political prisoners." What people now see is the largest machine for suppression in the contemporary world in what is a period of peace. That in a society filled with "friendship" and "harmony" and heading toward "communist self-management" there is need to set up such a huge and complex state machine is something that should be considered a big invention of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique on the theory of the state.

How are we to understand this most contradictory phenomenon? The great teacher Lenin taught us: "THE EXPLOITERS ARE NATURALLY UNABLE TO SUPPRESS THE PEOPLE WITHOUT A HIGHLY COMPLEX MACHINE FOR PERFORMING THIS TASK." (Lenin: Selected Works, "The State and Revolution," Vol III, p 248). The fact that the Soviet Union possesses such a huge and complex state machine is precisely dictated by the need of a small number of exploiters to suppress the masses of people. In the Soviet Union today, the vast masses of laboring people are the victims of exploitation and oppression by the bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie, and the various non-Russian nationalities the victims of Great-Russian chauvinism. Their resistance against the Soviet revisionist rule is growing by the day and the Brezhnev clique sitting on the mouth of a volcano finds the foundation under its feet shaking and very insecure. While suppressing the resistance of the people, they use flowery language to cover up their fascist acts. Herein lies the secret reason why the Soviet revisionists announce their abolition of the dictatorship of the proletariat on the one hand, and do their utmost to strengthen the state machine on the other. This further proves that such a huge and complex state machine set up on the basis of "developed socialist society" proclaimed by the Soviet revisionists is not that of a state that is "truly democratic" and represents the interests of the people, but that of a state under the bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie behind the signboard of "the state of the whole people," a state of fascist dictatorship in the cloak of socialism.

In order to cover up the nature of fascist dictatorship, the Soviet revisionists talk volubly about "democracy" and "freedom" in the "new constitution," listing a large number of articles on the rights of citizens with a thoroughness that greatly surpasses that of the 1936 constitution. However, since they want to strengthen the fascist dictatorship, it is impossible for them to completely cover up the nature of such dictatorship. In contrast with the 1936 constitution, the "new constitution" adds a provision: "Exercise by citizens of rights and freedoms must not injure the interests of society and the state, and the rights of other citizens." This cannot but make us recall a statement made by Lenin when criticizing the hypocrisy of bourgeois democracy: "THERE IS NOT A SINGLE STATE, HOWEVER DEMOCRATIC, WHICH HAS NO LOOPHOLES OR RESERVATIONS IN ITS CONSTITUTION GUARANTEEING THE BOURGEOISIE THE POSSIBILITY OF DISPATCHING TROOPS AGAINST THE WORKERS, OF PROCLAIMING MARTIAL LAW, AND SO FORTH, IN CASE OF A 'VIOLATION OF PUBLIC ORDER,' AND ACTUALLY IN CASE THE EXPLOITED CLASS 'VIOLATES' ITS POSITION OF SLAVERY AND TRIES TO BEHAVE IN A NONSLAVISH MANNER." (Lenin: Selected Works, "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky," Vol III, p 631). That provision added in the "new constitution" is exactly what Lenin referred to as "loopholes or reservations," and that provision alone is sufficient to make nonsense of all of the more than 20 articles concerning the rights and freedoms of citizens. [paragraph continues]

It should be especially noted here that the so-called "interests of society and the state" are the interests of a society where bureaucratic monopoly capitalism occupies the ruling position and of a social imperialist state, and the so-called "rights of other citizens" are the rights of a handful of bureaucratic monopoly capitalists. Any Soviet person may be made to wear the hat of "injuring the interests of society and the state" if his words and deeds should prove in any way harmful to the interests of the monopoly bourgeoisie. Hasn't the Soviet revisionist renegade clique long been using this hat to carry out wild suppression against the Soviet people who dare to resist its fascist rule? Now, with the "constitution" serving as the basis, they find it even more convenient to do so.

2. Ownership of the bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie in the cloak of "ownership of the whole people."

In the chapter "The Economic System," the "new constitution" lays down the economic basis of "developed socialist society." It declares: "Socialist ownership shall be the foundation of the economic system of the USSR." "State ownership, i.e., ownership by the whole people, shall be the principal form of socialist ownership." This is another pure and simple fabrication.

Marxism always maintains that the character of state ownership hinges on the character of the state. In other words, it hinges on which class and which social groups own the means of production and the fruits of production in the name of the state. In the history of mankind, only socialist state ownership under the dictatorship of the proletariat can manifest the character of the ownership of the means of production by the whole people. Since the Soviet revisionists regard their state as "a state of the whole people," their state ownership should naturally be ownership of the "state of the whole people." But just as "the state of the whole people" is in essence synonymous with the state of dictatorship of the bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie, the true implication of the ownership of the means of production by the "state of the whole people" can only be that the means of production are the property of the Soviet bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie and not the common property of the entire Soviet people. Today, the bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie, with Brezhnev as its general representative, owns over 90 percent of all fixed production funds in the Soviet Union in the name of the "state of the whole people." According to their own wishes, they send out surrogates vested with different degrees of authority to take firm control of basic-level enterprises and management organs at various levels and to map out a set of "principles guiding the national economy" and national economic plans that meet the needs of their class interests. With this "state ownership" playing the "leading role" and enjoying absolute superiority, the so-called "collective ownership" economy can be nothing but capitalist economy under the rigid control of a bureaucratic monopoly bourgeois state. Therefore, the "new constitution" proclaims that "the economy of the USSR shall be an integral economic complex embracing all the elements of social production, distribution and exchange in the territory of the USSR." This shows that it is in essence an all-embracing, highly concentrated state monopoly capitalist economy.

What is the goal of such an economy? The "new constitution" declares that "the supreme purpose of social production" is "the fullest possible satisfaction of the people's growing material and spiritual needs." But the actual condition of the Soviet Union today is precisely this: Acting in the name of the state, the bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie insatiably squeezes the wealth created by the workers and peasants and devotes a large portion of national income to arms expansion and war preparations for world domination, to maintaining the vast state machine of fascist dictatorship and to satisfying their own extravagant lifestyle. Military spending alone accounts for 12 to 15 percent of the gross national product, a proportion that far surpasses that of the United States. The Soviet revisionist bureaucratic monopoly bourgeois elements, by virtue of their actual power to control the means of production and through all kinds of means, legal and illegal, obtain extra income and embezzle the fruits of others' labor. [paragraph continues]

Isn't it a big joke to say that such an economy is geared to the "fullest possible satisfaction of the people's growing material and spiritual requirements"?

The "new constitution" also makes a series of provisions regarding how to protect "state property," such as "the citizen of the USSR shall be obliged to safeguard and fortify socialist property," "persons encroaching on socialist property shall be punishable by law," etc. In the Soviet Union, since the state monopoly capitalist economy under the ownership of the bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie has occupied the absolute ruling position, what these provisions protect can only be property of the bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie and not real socialist public property. Eliminating the encroachment of certain citizens on so-called "state property" and "socialist ownership" is precisely for the sake of protecting the bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie in seeking private class gains in the name of the state. Just as the core of all bourgeois constitutions is the inviolability of private property, so the "new constitution" of the Soviet Union in subtle form declares the sacredness and inviolability of the property of the bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie.

3. Policies of external expansion and aggression under cover of a "policy of peace."

In order to meet the requirements of the Brezhnev clique in pushing social imperialist policies of aggression and expansion, the "new constitution" specially adds the chapter "Foreign Policy" which was conspicuous by its absence in previous constitutions.

Long before the release of this "new constitution," certain ringleaders of the Soviet revisionists and scholars in their employ had admitted that the "mature," "developed socialist society" which they trumpeted had not only domestic attributes but also "international attributes." They declared: "Economic integration" of the "socialist community" is one of the special characteristics of "developed socialist society." For this reason, they wildly proposed that in order to build "a developed socialist society" in the Soviet Union, "the various socialist sovereign states" must achieve a "high degree of internationalization" of their own "economic and political life." To put it more clearly, in the interest of "developed socialism" in the Soviet Union, these countries must give up their own political and economic sovereignty. What a gangster logic in every sense of the word! Since the 25th CPSU Congress, the Brezhnev clique has been vigorously clamoring for the "gradual realization"--through "economic integration"--of "comprehensive integration" of all countries in the "big community" politically, militarily and ideologically. This shows that the Soviet revisionists not only want to turn all the social wealth of other countries into goods of Soviet social imperialism, but also want to go further and abolish the "limited" sovereignty of these countries and transform them completely into its colonies and dependencies. The "new constitution" of the Soviet Union includes in the chapter "Foreign Policy" such stuff as "socialist community," "economic integration" and "international division of labor" precisely for the purpose of creating a legal basis for the Brezhnev clique to push its new colonialist policy, to uninhibitedly rob the "fraternal countries" of their natural resources and to skilfully trample upon the sovereignty of other countries.

In his report on the draft constitution, Brezhnev also pretentiously said that "peace" was the "highest principle of the foreign policy" of the Soviet Union. The "new constitution" also advertises the so-called "policy of peace," purportedly standing for the "consolidation of the security of peoples and broad international cooperation," and so forth. This is nothing but a smokescreen designed to cover up the policies of aggression and expansion of Soviet social imperialism. Over the past years many facts show that under the banner of "peace" and "disarmament" the Soviet revisionists have been vigorously promoting arms expansion and war preparations in a bid to contend with the United States for world domination. On the one hand, they focus on reinforcing their military strength in Europe, strengthening their military planning, and outflanking and enveloping Europe. [paragraph continues]

On the other hand, they stretch their hands to every nook and corner of the world, carrying out infiltration everywhere, openly instigating their mercenary troops to carry out armed intervention in sovereign countries, and plunging the whole world into a state of unrest. Greatly inflating their military power, they have not only taken a long lead over the United States for the majority of conventional weapons in quantity terms, but also have approximated or caught up with the latter in terms of strategic nuclear weapons and of naval and air forces. The people of the whole world have seen more and more clearly that this late-coming, ambitious imperialism is the most dangerous source of a new world war. In trying to use the "new constitution" to camouflage their policies of expansion and aggression, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has only exposed itself in brighter light for what it really is.

After examining a number of articles concerning the political system, the economic system and foreign policy in the "new constitution" of the Soviet Union, we can see that the so-called "fundamental law of developed socialist society" is an out-and-out "law of life" of social imperialism and social fascism. The "new constitution" of the Soviet Union has once again provided us with excellent teaching material by negative example, for through analysis and study one can further identify the essence of social imperialism.

WHY DID BREZHNEV HASTILY DISH UP THE "NEW CONSTITUTION"?

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique wanted to rig up a "new constitution" long ago. As early as April 1962 at the Supreme Soviet session Khrushchev had proposed the drafting as soon as possible of a constitution of the "state of the whole people" and appointed himself chairman of the "constitution commission." The moment Brezhnev rose to power, he took over from Khrushchev the chairmanship of the "constitution commission" and declared that a new constitution "summing up" the "half a century" of the Soviet Union would be put forward on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution. This failed to appear due to the infighting within the Soviet revisionist ruling clique. Subsequently, Brezhnev declared that a draft constitution would be "turned over for discussion by the whole people" prior to the convening of the 25th CPSU Congress. However, such a constitution still failed to appear by the time the 25th congress was over. In April this year, taking extraordinary measures, Brezhnev suddenly announced the reorganization of the "constitution commission," dismissed almost half of the members and placed on it a large number of his own men. Next, he had Podgornyy removed and made himself concurrently chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. It was not until then that the draft constitution, so difficult to deliver, was born at last.

By hastily issuing a "new constitution" before the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution, Brezhnev naturally wanted to secure political capital and build a monument to himself. But what is still more important is that this meets the requirements of the internal and external policies of the Soviet revisionist bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie. Lenin once pointed out: The substance of a constitution lies in its "SHOWING THE ACTUAL BALANCE OF STRENGTH AMONG THE VARIOUS FORCES IN CLASS STRUGGLE" (Lenin: Collected Works, "How Do the Socialist Revolutionaries Sum up the Revolution?", Vol XV, p 309). The fact that the Soviet revisionists presented this "new constitution" at this time is not only the result of the development and changes in the situation of class struggle inside the Soviet Union and abroad but also a reflection of the internal and external difficulties facing the Brezhnev clique.

The restoration of capitalism has caused class differences inside the Soviet Union to sharpen with every passing day. Its class and national contradictions are being constantly aggravated. The vast masses of the working people in the Soviet Union oppose the rule of the bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie through slowdowns, strikes, parades, assemblies and riots. The struggles of the various non-Russian nationalities against national oppression by Great-Russian chauvinism are rising wave upon wave and being sustained. [paragraph continues]

Some intellectuals in their underground publications expose the fascist rule of the Soviet revisionists, thus putting the Brezhnev clique in a quandary. In order to strengthen the state machine of the bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie and defend its reactionary rule, the Brezhnev clique urgently requires the help of legislation so as to have a legal cloak for its suppression of the working people. Long before the release of this constitution, the Soviet revisionist authorities had continuously called for strengthening so-called "law and order" and concocted a series of reactionary decrees, regulations and decisions. At the 25th CPSU Congress held last year Brezhnev clamored for "strengthening the legal basis of the state and social life" and for "satisfactory enactment of legislation." He was anxious to fix the measures for the suppression of the people in the form of the fundamental law of the state. It can thus be seen that the release of the "new constitution" at this time was designed to meet the need to strengthen the fascist dictatorship and step up the suppression of the resistance of the people under the situation of growing contradictions inside the country.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique, which is exercising fascist dictatorship at home and carrying out social imperialist aggression and expansion abroad, has not only met with opposition from the masses of the people inside the country but is also losing support internationally. Progressive personages in many countries are rightly condemning the Soviet Union as "a society of fascist dictatorship" and "a new-type imperialist country." The Brezhnev clique finds itself in the position of defendant before world public opinion. The Carter administration of the United States, due to its need to step up its contention with the Soviet Union and undermine the latter's interests, has made a big fuss over the question of "human rights," thereby infuriating the Soviet Union and putting it on the defensive. Due to the abovementioned factors, the Brezhnev clique finds it urgently necessary to hastily present a constitution in order to decorate its facade with phrases like "democracy," "freedom" and "peace," and in order to confuse people's attention and cope with the condemnation of world public opinion. In this way, behind the smokescreen of "democracy," "freedom" and "peace," it may continue to push the policies of social fascism and social imperialism and to turn the unfavorable tide. In his report to the Supreme Soviet on 4 October this year Brezhnev bragged that there had never been a constitution like this one which defined the citizen's "rights" and "freedoms" "so extensively, explicitly and fully." After the adoption of the "new constitution," the Soviet revisionists set all their propaganda machines into motion, focusing their attention on promoting the so-called Soviet citizens' "broad political and economic rights and freedoms," "the democratic and humanitarian nature" of the constitution, and the so-called foreign policy of "peace" pursued by the Soviet Union. What a fine example of burying 300 taels of silver in the ground and then putting up a sign saying "there are not 300 taels of silver here." This precisely shows that this "new constitution" spewed out by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique in such haste is designed to meet its urgent need to cover up its fascist rule and to deceive the people at home and abroad.

The "new constitution" which they had been working painstakingly to put together for more than 10 years and whose release was delayed again and again was presented today only after extraordinary measures were taken. This does not in the least show that Brezhnev and the like are powerful. It precisely shows the internal and external predicaments from which they can hardly extricate themselves as well as reflecting the extreme fragility of this renegade clique. The "new constitution" can in no way save them from their final, inevitable doom.

Chairman Mao already pointed out in 1962: "THE SOVIET UNION IS A SOCIALIST COUNTRY, AND THE SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTY IS A PARTY FOUNDED BY LENIN. ALTHOUGH THE LEADERSHIP OF THE SOVIET PARTY AND STATE HAS BEEN USURPED BY THE REVISIONISTS, I ADVISE THE COMRADES TO BE FIRMLY CONVINCED THAT THE MASSES OF THE PEOPLE AND THE VAST NUMBERS OF PARTY MEMBERS AND CADRES IN THE SOVIET UNION ARE GOOD AND THEY WANT REVOLUTION. THE REVISIONIST RULE WILL NOT LAST LONG." [paragraph continues]

History will surely advance according to the laws revealed by Marxism-Leninism, it will surely develop according to the road of the October Revolution. We are firmly convinced that the great Soviet people with the glorious tradition of the October Revolution will certainly not tolerate for long the Brezhnev clique riding their backs, that they will certainly hold high Lenin's banner, recapture the fruit of the revolution, and rebuild their socialist country under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and that the banner of the October Revolution is sure to once again flutter high over the great land of the Soviet Union!

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